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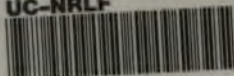
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# THE IOWA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

BY

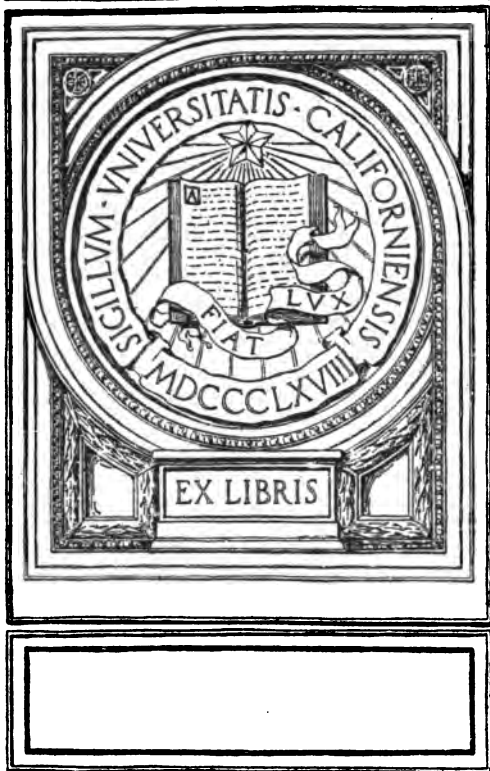
LORIN STUCKEY

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE  
COLLEGE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF  
IOWA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF  
PHILOSOPHY

IOWA CITY, IOWA  
1915



EXCHANGE







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**Iowa City, Iowa**

THE CHESNUTT PRINTING COMPANY  
IOWA CITY, IOWA

1900

## PREFACE

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The State has rarely been taken as the unit for the scientific study of the labor movement in America. There are reasons, however, for regarding it as a logical and convenient area for the investigation of certain phases of that movement, and for anticipating that a series of monographs will yet be written on organized labor in the several commonwealths. The following pages are presented as a contribution to the history of organized labor in Iowa. They do not purport to cover the entire field; but are concerned quite strictly with one organization, entirely within the boundaries of Iowa, but State-wide in its ramifications, and representative of a wide range of crafts and industries.

As a background for this study, it was thought desirable to review briefly the earlier history of organized labor in Iowa, including the rise of trade unionism and the ephemeral career of the Knights of Labor. The central purpose, however, has been to set forth clearly and systematically the history, structure and government, policies, and influence of the Iowa State Federation of Labor.

It is impossible to make adequate mention of all of the assistance rendered by interested friends, but the thanks of the writer are due to Professor P. S. Peirce for patient and painstaking assistance and scholarly suggestions at all times. Mr. A. L. Urick, Mr. J. H. Strief, Mr. A. E. Holder, and Mr. John T. Clarkson have read the manuscript carefully, and have made many valuable suggestions. Information concerning the Knights of Labor in Iowa has been secured largely through the kindness of Mr. W. H. Winsor, who loaned the writer his private diary, and placed several copies of the proceedings of the meetings of the Knights of Labor in Iowa in the library of the State Historical Society of Iowa, at Iowa City; and from Mr. Matthew Cowden, Jr. Furthermore, this monograph would scarcely have been possible had it not been for the loyal assistance of former students and the constant help and encouragement of my wife.

LORIN STUCKEY

State University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa





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## INTRODUCTION

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The early history of organized labor in Iowa presents two lines of development: first, the establishment and growth of the trade unions in the various crafts throughout the State, and their affiliation with strong national trade organizations and with the American Federation of Labor; and second, the rise and decline of the Knights of Labor, which exerted a considerable influence on the politics of the State in the 80's)

### 1. KNIGHTS OF LABOR

(In point of time, the establishment of trade unions came first in Iowa, but the Knights of Labor reached a position of power and influence earlier) (This organization began to decline sooner, also; but not until it had accomplished some reforms which were permanent, and had taught the labor interests lessons by which later organizations were to profit. For instance, the American Federation of Labor, organized in Pittsburg in 1881, was able to avoid, by a different form of organization and by different policies, some of the pitfalls which helped to bring about the ruin of the Knights of Labor.<sup>1</sup> The American Federation of Labor emphasized the local trade union, composed of artisans following a single vocation and attached to a national trade union, while the Knights of Labor laid the emphasis upon a "mixed assembly" in which could be found men of all crafts. Subsequent events would seem to indicate that the trade union form of organization was better fitted to survive. Thus it happened that when the Iowa State Assembly of the Knights of Labor declined, it was succeeded by the Iowa State Federation of Labor, which allied itself with the American Federation of Labor.)

The order of the Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia in 1873, by Uriah S. Stephens, a tailor. It soon began to include in its membership all persons, both men and women,

who were interested in bettering the conditions surrounding the laboring classes of the country. This policy, together with the fact that the order dropped its element of secrecy about 1881, helped to increase the membership very rapidly.

Local assemblies were established in various parts of Iowa, chiefly in the larger cities; and in a few years the order became sufficiently strong to organize a District Assembly for the State. Consequently, representatives of the various locals met at Des Moines, Iowa, May 7, 1879, and organized District Assembly No. 28. Little is known of its activities until the meeting at Oskaloosa, Iowa, January 10-11, 1883, when the ban of secrecy was lifted and the Assembly began to print its proceedings.

An account of the order in Iowa during its period of secrecy from 1873 to 1883 would be full of interest. The calls for special meetings were chalked in code on the fences, walls of buildings, and sidewalks, much to the alarm of the uninitiated, who believed that these cabalistic signs were the work of anarchists, who must be rapidly increasing in number and power, and who must be planning some terrible deed. Strange tales were afloat concerning the methods of initiation. Local elections were often said to be influenced by them, and the growing importance of the mere name of the order, which prior to 1882 was kept secret, and usually indicated by five stars (\*\*\*\*\*), may be noted in the alacrity and effusiveness with which candidates for election to the legislature responded to queries put to them concerning their views on matters of interest to the Knights of Labor. One candidate from the Fifth Congressional district of the State of Iowa filled four sheets of foolscap paper in an attempt to meet the requirements, and closed with the regret that "I answer hastily as I have to go away this afternoon." Another candidate is scarcely less verbose, but apparently takes more time to think, and assures the Knights of Labor of his "heartly support and best efforts in their behalf."

District Assembly No. 28 was the twenty-eighth district organized in the United States, Philadelphia being No. 1, Pittsburgh No. 3, and so on. In the years from 1883 to 1886 the conventions occurred in January and July. The General Assembly had ruled that the District Assemblies need hold only annual meetings, but District Assembly No. 28 petitioned the General

Assembly to permit it to continue meeting sémi-annually.<sup>\*</sup> It also sought to prevent the organization of a new District Assembly in the State, but the adoption of a regulation by the General Assembly which permitted the formation of State Assemblies,<sup>\*</sup> remedied this difficulty. July 14, 1886, District Assembly No. 28 met at Cedar Rapids and reorganized itself into the Iowa State Assembly of the Knights of Labor; it held meetings on the second Tuesday of February of each year as follows: Boone, Iowa, 1887; Des Moines, Iowa, 1888; Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1889; Marshalltown, Iowa, 1890. By 1890 the strength of the organization had perceptibly diminished, and from this time on its influence rapidly waned.

The membership of the order in Iowa varied greatly. In 1884 there were 41 local assemblies representing, according to the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, approximately 3200 members.<sup>\*</sup> By 1886 the number of locals had increased to 49, and in 1888 no less than 188 locals are listed, representing a membership of 30,000.<sup>\*</sup> The treasurer's report for that year shows an income of \$1524.68, while 200 delegates were present at the convention.<sup>\*</sup> The year 1888 marks the period of greatest strength of the Knights of Labor in Iowa, and in numbers compares favorably with the meetings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in later years.

That the leaders of the Knights of Labor in Iowa were capable men may be inferred from the fact that Mr. J. R. Sovereign of Atlantic, Iowa, who helped reorganize District Assembly No. 28 into the Iowa State Assembly of the Knights of Labor, and who was elected State Master Workman at the convention at Marshalltown in 1890,<sup>20</sup> succeeded Grand Master Powderly as the head of the national order in 1894. Mr. M. L. Wheat, of Colfax, first District Master Workman of District Assembly No. 28, was chosen General Worthy Foreman under the regime of Grand Master Powderly. Mr. H. B. Martin of Cedar Rapids, prominent in both the District Assembly and the local assembly at Cedar Rapids, was placed upon the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labor. When it is remembered that the Knights of Labor had branches in Canada, as well as throughout the United States, the significance of the Iowa influence may seem more apparent.



Many of the members in the rank and file received in the ranks of the Knights of Labor, their training for future work in organized labor. Mr. W. H. Winsor, formerly secretary of Local No. 885, Knights of Labor, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has held office continuously in the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers at Cedar Rapids, as well as in the Cedar Rapids Federation of Labor. Mr. Matthew Cowden, Jr., a frequent delegate to the meetings of District Assembly No. 28 from Cedar Rapids, has been prominent locally in the trade of his choice ever since the decline of the Knights of Labor, at present being an officer in the local union of Letter Carriers at Cedar Rapids. Many other names could be mentioned, but this is sufficient to show something of the manner in which those interested in the Knights of Labor became important factors in later phases of labor organization. As an old member of the Knights of Labor said, "All of us who were prominent in the Knights of Labor got offices in the new organizations."">

The influence of the Knights of Labor in Iowa was considerable, and many of the things for which it stood are now matters of permanent policy. Committees were appointed to investigate the record of candidates for public office, and to inquire into their attitude toward matters of interest to the Knights of Labor; pressure was brought to bear upon the legislature to secure desired ends, and other familiar means were employed to further the interests of the organization. Among the items of most importance which it advocated were the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics, better child-labor laws, the prohibition of contract convict labor, postal savings banks, government ownership of telephones, telegraphs and railroads, the Australian Ballot, the establishment of co-operative institutions, equal pay for men and women, shorter hours, and arbitration of all differences between employer and employee. The Knights of Labor in Iowa is now a thing of the past; in place of it have come the newer forms of organization made necessary by changed industrial conditions.

## 2. TRADE UNIONISM TO 1893

Organized labor in Iowa, from the standpoint of the locals in the various trades, began to exert an appreciable influence upon

affairs in the State as early as 1877, when the railway employees at Council Bluffs, Burlington, Ottumwa, and other points, were engaged in a general strike.<sup>10</sup> This strike was a part of the great railroad strikes of 1877, which involved the entire country, and which were marked by great destruction of life and property. The situation in Iowa assumed such serious proportions that Governor Newbold issued a "formal proclamation commanding all rioters and strikers to desist and disperse." He called "upon all sheriffs, mayors of cities, and all other officers to be vigilant," assuring "them that the whole power of the state will, if necessary, be invoked for the support of the authority and the execution of the law."<sup>11</sup>

At this time the only labor organizations in the State aside from the Dubuque Typographical Union No. 22, were five unions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, two lodges of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and three unions of the Order of Railway Conductors.<sup>12</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the year 1877 does not mark the first activity of organized labor in the State, yet from the very nature of the case the influence prior to this time was limited, owing to the fact that there were practically no trades organized outside of the railroad employees, and these comparatively few in number, the total membership in 1877 amounting to a little over 600.<sup>13</sup>

In 1880 fourteen strikes are recorded for Iowa,<sup>14</sup> and from this time on they occur with more or less frequency. But the strike situation in Iowa has never assumed such serious proportions as in other States, the total number from 1881 to 1905 amounting to only 446 strikes and 23 lockouts.<sup>15</sup>

In 1893, the year of the formation of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, only two strikes occurred.<sup>16</sup> This would seem to support the opinion that "strikes are symptomatic of prosperity rather than of industrial depression,"<sup>17</sup> since this was the year of the great panic.

In 1885 there were 35 trade unions within the State, with a membership of over 1500, exclusive of the Knights of Labor, which had a membership of over 3200. There were at this time five Typographical Unions, of which Dubuque Typographical Union, No. 22, founded in 1854, is the oldest labor organization in the State; six organizations of the Brotherhood of Locomotive

Engineers, the earliest being established at Eldon in 1863; six organizations of the Order of Railway Conductors, the first being established at Cedar Rapids in 1868; nine Lodges of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the first being founded at Cedar Rapids in 1873; six Cigar Makers Unions, the first being established at Keokuk in 1880; and three unions of Masons and Bricklayers, with the oldest at Des Moines, organized in 1882."

By 1890 the number of unions had increased to 78, and from that time the development has been rapid, until in 1914, there were approximately 790 locals of the various crafts in Iowa." These organizations are chiefly in the larger cities in the eastern half of the State, with the exception of the miners' unions which are found in the coal mining region in the south central part."

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NOTE:—See map on page 116, showing location of unions in Iowa.

## CHAPTER I.

### HISTORY OF THE STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

The establishment of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in 1893 was probably due to the fact that at this time there was occurring a very rapid growth of national and international organizations, due partly to the influence of the American Federation of Labor, and partly to the fact that the order of the Knights of Labor was declining. The latter organization had met with failures in the general strikes which it had declared; it had been having frequent internal dissensions, and it was beginning to exhibit evidences of over-organization. Consequently the membership began to diminish, and men turned their attention to other instruments which promised to better serve their needs."

Opposed to the policy of the Knights of Labor, which emphasized a "mixed assembly" having as its primary concern the interests common to all productive workers, and not the interests of any single craft, was that of the newer organization, the American Federation of Labor, which placed the emphasis in its organization upon the local trade union, composed of artisans following a single vocation, and attached to a national trade union."

The method of development of trade unionism in the State of Iowa has been much the same as in other parts of the country. The locals of the various trades came first; and after the trades became sufficiently strong in local organizations, they either developed into a national organization, where such had not been organized, or associated themselves with the national organization, if such had been in existence. The national organizations, when once established, helped to increase by their efforts the number of local unions throughout the State, as well as the membership in each union thus advancing labor organization.

Following closely the establishment of the locals and the various national organizations, and in some instances occurring at the same time, is the formation of city centrals or assemblies, which were organized where three or more unions were able to unite. The city central is, therefore, the organization of unions in one locality. This form of organization has been further developed in localities where cities are so situated as to have common interests, or to be somewhat closely connected. An illustration of this is the union of some of the towns along the Mississippi River; for instance, Clinton, Lyons, and Fulton combined to form a Tri-City Labor Congress, while Davenport, Rock Island, and Moline united to form what was once called a Tri-City Labor Congress, but is now known as the Tri-City Federation of Labor." The Iowa State Federation of Labor is a later development of organized labor, in that the various locals and nationals came first in point of time, and the nature of the Iowa State Federation of Labor was somewhat modified on this account.

1. *Origin and Purpose of Federation.* The call for the first convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor came from the Burlington Trades and Labor Assembly. It contained an invitation to all of the labor and trades unions of the State to meet in that city." The convention, however, was held in Des Moines, May 15-18, 1893, because the city of Des Moines was more centrally located. The representatives for the Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly agreed to help locate it at Burlington the following year, provided the Burlington Trades and Labor Assembly would assist in bringing the convention to Des Moines in 1893. Since the labor people in the northeastern part of the State and many others desired to meet at some centrally located city, the Burlington Trades and Labor Assembly agreed to give the Des Moines Trades and Labor Assembly the first convention." When the time came to decide upon a second meeting-place, it was found that the organization favored Des Moines; but in order to keep faith with the Burlington people, Des Moines permitted the convention to go to Burlington the next year." Since that time, the Iowa State Federation of Labor has held its meetings at different points in the State. In 1913 a resolution was passed making Des Moines the permanent headquarters,"

but this in no wise affected the policy regarding a place of meeting; and the new president, J. H. Strief, has even maintained his office at his home town, Sioux City.

As has been true of other State organizations," the original purpose of the formation of the Iowa State Federation of Labor was to influence State and Federal legislation." During the earlier years of its existence, however, little progress was made toward the realization of this purpose, owing largely to the fact that its finances were insufficient to support vigorous and effective action. But from the number of legislative measures suggested at each meeting of the Federation, it is evident that the organization was at least very hopeful, and that it did not hesitate to make its wants known. During the legislative session of 1900 the Iowa State Federation of Labor maintained, for the first time, a continuous lobby at the State capitol; and as a result, several important measures of interest to labor were enacted, and one bill distasteful to labor was defeated." As succeeding chapters will show, the Federation has since attained no small measure of success in the legislative field.

The general principles and viewpoint of the organization are set forth in the following preamble to the first constitution,—a preamble which has not been changed to date (1914):

"Recognizing the fact that the very instinct of self-preservation demands the closer unionism of all trades and labor organizations, in order that the equality of right and privilege may be obtained for wage workers, we, the representatives of the **TRADES AND LABOR UNIONS OF IOWA**, in convention assembled, do hereby unite our forces in this convention in the cause of Labor Emancipation, and call upon wage workers throughout the State to join with us in obtaining needed industrial and social reforms.

"We affirm the natural and legal right of all wage workers to organize themselves peaceably together, and condemn as autocratic and un-American that spirit which inspires to lockouts and blacklists.

"We regard the exaction of an agreement by an employer from his employes that they shall not belong to a labor organization as an infringement on the natural rights of a citizen,

) and as a species of intimidation that should be punished by law.

“We believe in autonomy of trade interests, and the closest possible unity in matters of general concern.”

“We regard it as the duty of every true citizen to assist in bringing about that state of civilization wherein individual and moral worth, not wealth, shall be the true standard of individual and national greatness.”

In a study of the proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, one is impressed by the wide range of subjects introduced in the resolutions presented to the organization. We find them (objecting to the curtailment of a course in civics,) advocating manual training in the schools, “championing woman suffrage,” child labor laws, “workmen’s compensation laws,” tuberculosis hospitals, “sanitary conditions of “bakeshops,” “discussing the relation of the United States to foreign countries,” protesting against disturbances in Cuba and Mexico,” and urging the observance of the Sabbath Day as a day of rest.” The range and scope of these topics raises the question whether the interests of the Federation are not as broad as those of the human race itself, and whether they are limited to the welfare of the working classes, who are most vitally affected by the subjects referred to in these resolutions.

That the Iowa State Federation of Labor has appreciated the value of a record of its work is shown by the appointment in 1900<sup>00</sup> of a historian, who only served until 1904, when the office was discontinued,” and the work left largely to the president of the organization. The same year the Federation directed its president to collect news concerning the doings of organized labor in the State, and to publish the same in a monthly bulletin;” but the task became too heavy and was discontinued in 1911.”

Jurisdictional disputes have been an obstacle to the advancement of organized labor in the State of Iowa, as well as elsewhere. This may be seen in the record of the proceedings of a number of conventions, where questions have arisen over the seating of delegates. At the very first convention in 1893, a contest arose over the seating of the representatives of the Knights of Labor, who were finally refused admission to the

Federation." Again at the 1894 convention, the Knights of Labor applied for admission, but were refused. Arrangements were made, however, for a conference with the representatives of the Knights of Labor, looking toward a working agreement whereby the general interests of the working classes would be promoted, and the two organizations could work together in harmony." At a recent meeting of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, June 10-14, 1913, the jurisdictional dispute appeared again, this time between the carpenters and the tanners, but it was amicably settled." There is a general feeling among the leaders of organized labor in Iowa that the jurisdictional dispute is the greatest obstacle to the advancement and growth of unionism;" a satisfactory solution to the difficulty is yet to be discovered.

2. *Leaders.* The Iowa State Federation of Labor has been peculiarly fortunate in its leaders, as the following table will show:

	<i>President</i>	<i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>
1893-1897	L. F. Jones	1893-1898 George Shaver
1897-1899	J. F. Byrne	1898-1901 J. S. Nagle
1899-1900	O. P. Beebe	
1900-1901	W. E. O'Brienness	
1901-1903	A. E. Holder	1901-1913 J. H. Strief
1903-1913	A. L. Urick	
1913-	J. H. Strief	1913- F. A. Canfield

Mr. W. E. O'Brienness was appointed State Labor Commissioner by Governor Jackson in 1894, and served six years." His activity in the securing of legislation favorable to labor, his effective work as an organizer, and his keen interest in labor matters, have made the Iowa State Federation of Labor his debtor.

Mr. Arthur E. Holder "needs no introduction to the union men of Sioux City or the State of Iowa, as his acquaintance in union circles in this state is extensive. While a machinist in the Omaha railroad shops in Sioux City, and active in local labor circles, he was appointed by Governor Shaw, and afterwards twice reappointed by Governor Cummins as deputy state labor commissioner, which exacting position he held with credit to



himself and to the state. While serving in this capacity he was, at the Sioux City convention in 1901, chosen president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, at which time J. H. Strief, now president, was chosen secretary of that body. Going from there to a position with the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Holder has shown rare executive ability, and has made a name for himself in international union affairs. Mr. Holder is a student of labor history and a close observer of affairs in the movement of the past and present, and has received merited recognition as a thoughtful and thoroughly posted contributor to the labor press of the country."<sup>99</sup> Mr. E. D. Brigham, former State Labor Commissioner, says of him: "He is one of the most enthusiastic organizers of labor I ever knew; he has a wonderful ability to interest men. During his presidency the State Federation reached its high water mark."

During Mr. Holder's second administration, the attendance at the State convention of 1903 reached the unprecedented number of one hundred and seventy-six. "The general membership has exceeded that of 1903, and the membership of unions of the state has been larger for a number of years, but convention attendance has never equaled the Davenport convention."<sup>100</sup> Although Mr. Holder has reached a position of prominence in national labor circles, and the labor men of the State of Iowa are especially proud of his attainments, yet his chief interest to us lies in the fact that he unselfishly and with an unbounded enthusiasm threw himself into the work of an organizer, in the years following the hard times of 1896-1897. Together with a few other hopeful men of like devotion, who used their spare time, served without pay, and depended upon friends here and there for food and lodging, he strove earnestly to revive the drooping spirits of fellow-laborers and to stimulate organization. The results of such work may be read in the subsequent steady growth of organized labor in the State.

Mr. A. L. Urick was elected president of the Federation in 1903, and continued in office until appointed State Labor Commissioner by Governor Clarke in 1913. Through his ten years of service as president, Mr. Urick has established himself firmly in the confidence of his co-workers. He has been accorded the respect of men in all walks of life in the State, and he ranks

high among the labor leaders of the United States. His success has been attained chiefly by persistence, systematic effort along the line of legislative enactments, and a consistent attempt to educate his constituency to an appreciation of the needs and problems of organized labor. He has not only addressed himself to the labor element of the State, but educational institutions, church organizations, social workers, women's leagues, and various other organizations throughout the State have accorded him a respectful hearing. Many of the laws now upon our statute books relative to child welfare, and the protection of labor interests in general, bear the impress of Mr. Uriek's individuality.

Mr. J. H. Strief was elected secretary-treasurer in 1901 and served in that capacity for twelve years, leaving this position only to accept the presidency of the Federation in 1913. Perhaps no further evidence of the value of his services to organized labor need be mentioned, than this recognition by his fellows. His work is not done, and it is perhaps too early to correctly evaluate his services to the State Federation of Labor; but it may be said that his reputation as an able secretary-treasurer is more than State-wide, and that his careful, systematic, and accurate records, together with his constant watchfulness to maintain the membership of the organization and build up the treasury, have been a large factor in the development of the labor movement in Iowa. Mr. Strief has not been in the public limelight so much during his long service as secretary-treasurer, but the union men have come to know him from a very practical angle, and can speak with knowledge of his ability. As president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor he will occupy a more prominent position as far as the general public is concerned, while his prominence in the labor movement of the State will be in no wise diminished. Therefore, the following extract from the Union Advocate (Sioux City), characterizing his work as president of the Federation, is of peculiar interest and significance:

"R. J.[G.] Stewart, one of the best known labor men in the state, pays a well deserved tribute to the president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor (our own J. Harry) in the last issue of his Cedar Rapids Republican [Tribune], as follows:

'Truly a year of wonderful progress has followed the first twelve months of the administration of President J. Harry Strief of the Iowa Federation of Labor. The net gain in membership shows nearly 10,000 new names added to the roster of the most conservative, yet in a sense, the most progressive and aggressive body of trades unionists enlisted under a state central body charter in the country. That the progress made must in all fairness be accredited to President Strief those who have watched his work during the year just closing must admit. He has been persistent in his efforts to organize. He has traveled the state, not once, but many times during the last twelve months. He has incessantly preached organization and advocated affiliation, pointing out the record of legislative accomplishments as a criterion by which to judge the benefits of closer unity and co-operation. Being by nature and training a man who believes in system, he has applied that training to state federation affairs. His correspondence is ever promptly attended to and he has accomplished results by this method alone. He has not permitted his time to be monopolized by any one city, but has rightfully devoted his energies to the entire state. The coming convention sees the state central body with more money in the treasury and a greater membership by thousands than ever before. So much for system and constructive methods in trades union affairs.' '1922

It may be noticed that there are three things emphasized in this article, which are quite generally admitted regarding the work of President Strief: first, his persistency in organization; second, his belief in system and promptness; and third, his constructive ability in establishing organizations and reducing his business to a system, thus insuring results.

The men who have been at the head of affairs in the Iowa State Federation of Labor were superior men, very much in earnest, and they fully realized the magnitude of the task before them. They have shown themselves willing at all times to grapple with the problems that arise. They have accepted defeat gracefully, when it came, but they have never shown themselves disheartened, and as a consequence the State of Iowa has made a very creditable showing as compared with other States, both in the eyes of organized labor, and from the standpoint of employers as well.

3. *Growth.* The following tables will afford some idea of the growth, not only of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, but of organized labor in the State as well, since the State Federation is an index of the larger movement:

TABLE I.

Date	Place of Meeting	Number of Delegates	Affiliated Organizations in Good Standing
1893	Des Moines	52	<u>19</u>
1894	Burlington	23	<u>31</u>
1895	Ottumwa	18	<u>33</u>
1896	No convention	—	—
1897	Des Moines	16	20
1898	Dubuque	12	18
1899	Ottumwa	34	19
1900	Des Moines	64	<u>38</u>
1901	Sioux City	53	<u>12</u>
1902	Cedar Rapids	112	27
1903	Davenport	176	77
1904	Marshalltown	150	63
1905	Council Bluffs	103	52
1906	Ottumwa	108	39
1907	Keokuk	103	36
1908	Cinton	108	33
1909	Dubuque	122	27
1910	Waterloo	113	25
1911	Sioux City	104	38
1912	Muscatine	103	32
1913	Des Moines	109	42
1914	Davenport	126	73

Table I gives the year, the meeting place, and the number of delegates attending the conventions down to 1914. The column of "affiliated organizations in good standing" is taken from the financial statement of the Federation for each year. At the Ottumwa convention of 1899 the system of payment was revised so as to hold the central bodies responsible for the per capita tax of all affiliated locals. This proposition emanated from the Sioux City Trades Assembly. It has proved to be the secret of success of the stability of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and has been one of the principal factors in making this State organization so effective. Under this system, the actual number of locals in affiliation with the Iowa State Federation of

Labor can not be determined from the financial report, the number being greatly in excess of that cited in the report. The data for affiliated organizations from 1899 is valuable chiefly to indicate the relationship of central bodies. Mr. A. L. Urick states that after the Dubuque convention of 1909, he made a careful investigation and found over four hundred locals in affiliation with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, the per capita tax of the greater number of these being paid through central bodies. He further states that "for a number of years the affiliation with the State Federation has exceeded fifty per cent of all locals in the state, but has never equaled more than thirty or thirty-five per cent of the individual membership, that being largely due to lack of affiliation of the large miners' locals."

Shortly after the formation of the Federation in 1893, the country became involved in a general industrial depression; and while the Federation had started out under auspicious circumstances with fifty-two delegates, the number attending the conventions decreased until 1898, when the low water mark of its history seems to have been reached. The abandoning of the convention in 1896 was due to two causes; the demoralization accompanying the industrial depression, and confusion regarding the time of meeting, arising from the fact that the previous convention had planned to change the date from May to December.

A study of the number of delegates at the succeeding conventions indicates a marked, though fluctuating growth of the Federation since 1898. The thirty-four delegates in 1899, from nineteen affiliated unions in good standing, registers an increase, not only in the number of unions, but in the number of unionists as well, since representation in the convention at this time is based upon membership in the affiliated unions. The decided increase in 1900 was due partially to the affiliation of District No. 13 of the United Mine Workers, embracing its entire Iowa membership of seven thousand members, the district organization paying the entire per capita tax. This organization discontinued its affiliation the next year, because the miners thought the Iowa State Federation of Labor was a mere political machine and used by its officers for their own private advancement. They also felt that because of their numbers they should be accorded

a proportionate amount of power in the Federation, which at that time would practically have amounted to domination by the miners." The United Mine Workers reaffiliated in 1902 and have continued in membership since that date. This affiliation was upon the basis of the district being admitted as an organization at large, paying but ten dollars per capita per year with three delegates at large at conventions. The affiliation of their locals was left to the decision of the locals," and but a small per cent ever affiliated.

Date	Miners' Unions	TABLE II.	
		Federal Unions	Total Organizations in State
1902	83	28	574
1903	83	38	724
1904	88	44	906
1905	93	25	798
1906	90	16	733
1907	94	16	792
1908	93	12	725
1909	94	11	672
1910	87	9	669
1911	89	13	711
1912	85	11	717
1913	92	6	804
1914	86	4	790

Table II is an attempt to throw some light upon the growth of unionism in Iowa since 1902." The miners' unions have been given a separate column in order to show their strength as compared with the whole number. They are included in the totals in the third column. The federal unions, though included in the total, also are given a separate column, because they afford an item of peculiar interest. A federal union is a mixed union and exists where there is not a sufficient number of members to form separate unions for each trade represented. These unions affiliate directly with the American Federation of Labor, and as soon as union sentiment becomes sufficiently advanced and the numbers justify such action, the federal union, or "recruiting station," as it is sometimes called, is abandoned, and its members form unions according to their separate trades. The federal unions in Iowa increased in number for a short period, until

1904, when they began to decline in number, and are at present relatively unimportant, numbering in 1914 but four with a total membership of 308."<sup>a</sup>

The column setting forth the total number of unions in the State is valuable chiefly to indicate the stability of unionism in the State. It must not be understood that all these organizations are affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, but it is the constant aim of the officers and organizers of the Federation to get as many of these organizations to affiliate as possible. Up to 1903 the growth in organization was too rapid to insure permanency. Lapses and consolidation have reduced the number of locals, while the membership has generally increased. For instance, Table II shows 83 local miners' organizations in 1902; their membership, as before noted was approximately 7000 at that time. The same table shows only 86 locals in 1914, with a total membership, as given by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1914, approximating 17,000."

Prior to 1902 there had been serious attempts at organization, but the resources of the Federation had not been sufficient to secure systematic work along this line. From this time on, a rather definite record of the various organizations in the State has been kept, because more attention has been paid to systematic organization. Table II shows that while the number of organizations in the State has fluctuated somewhat from year to year, yet for the period as a whole it remains fairly constant. These figures do not throw light upon the total number of men belonging to unions in Iowa at these various dates, since there might have been a considerable increase in membership throughout the State, while the number of organizations remained the same."<sup>a</sup>

It is impossible to determine the number of union men who were affiliated with the Federation in its early history; only approximations can be secured. Even for later years we must be content with estimates, and these far from satisfactory. In 1894, Mr. L. T. Jones, president of the Federation, reckoned the membership as represented by the thirty-one unions in affiliation at "nearly 1,800."<sup>a</sup> In 1895 the secretary-treasurer estimates the "per capita" paying members at 814, "in addition to which each Trade and Labor Assembly represents more or

less other members that are not otherwise affiliated.'"<sup>11</sup> This great falling off in numbers is attributed partially, at least, to the hard times. In 1900, District No. 13, United Mine Workers of America, affiliated, increasing the membership in the Federation by about 7,000. This increase was lost in 1901, and regained again in 1902, since which time the miners have remained for the most part in affiliation. The report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics gives 26,068 as the number of union men in the State in 1900."<sup>12</sup> In 1903 the total membership had reached 44,722, an increase of 18,654 over 1900. In 1904 Mr. A. L. Urick, president of the Federation, says: "As a result, to bring into greater harmony those unions already in existence, the number of new unions formed during the year is not nearly so large as during any of the several years preceding, yet notwithstanding this the membership of the unions in affiliation with the State Federation increased by about 6000.'"<sup>13</sup> In 1906 President Urick again says: "When we compare the 19 unions existing in Iowa in 1883, with their membership of less than 500, with the present number of nearly 600 unions and a membership of not less than 40,000, covering a great multiplicity of occupations and trades, we are seized with admiration for the marvelous increase in the number of workers who have become impressed, in so short a time, with the ideals and usefulness of the trade union institution as a means of promoting the welfare of the common people.'"<sup>14</sup> In 1914 the secretary-treasurer reports an increase in membership of 8,000."

These scattered statements, when taken collectively, indicate rather clearly that there has been a somewhat steady growth, and that the membership reaches well up into the thousands. When considered in connection with the financial and other tables, it is of considerable significance in determining the development of the organization."

Table III. traces the financial growth of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, as indicated by the report of the secretary-treasurer for each year. It gives more satisfactory evidence, if any were needed, of the increasing strength of unionism, as evidenced by the constantly increasing amount of money received and expended. The excellent financial showing has been due largely to the good business management of the secretary-



treasurer, Mr. J. H. Strief, who held this office for twelve years beginning in 1901, when an immediate improvement may be noted.

TABLE III.

Date	Receipts	Expenses	Balance on hand
1893	No data	No data	No data
1894	No data	No data	No data
1895	\$436.71	\$376.07	\$ 60.64
1896	No convention		
1897	351.77	320.52	31.25
1898	205.80	150.24	52.96
1899	212.25	155.78	43.47
1900	546.34	369.01	177.33
1901	473.85	392.11	76.90
1902	927.40	566.87	360.53
1903	2,956.68	1,636.53	1,320.15
1904	3,867.91	2,890.05	977.86
1905	3,073.26	2,944.68	1,105.78
1906	2,675.43	3,235.81	545.40
1907	2,881.86	3,028.63	398.63
1908	2,693.54	2,635.59	456.58
1909	3,251.60	3,139.85	568.33
1910	3,049.52	3,257.85	360.00
1911	3,664.18	3,513.15	511.03
1912	3,361.49	3,674.78	197.72
1913	3,483.03	3,154.03	526.72
1914	4,488.50	3,714.36	1,300.86

## CHAPTER II.

### ANNUAL CONVENTIONS OF THE STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR 1893-1914

#### FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1893

At the first convention, held at Des Moines, May 15-17, 1893, there were fifty-two delegates representing six cities: Burlington, Davenport, Dubuque, Ottumwa, Sioux City, and Des Moines." A banquet was held at which there were some one hundred and fifty persons, and enthusiastic speeches and addresses seemed to point toward a great future for the organization. A delegate from the Lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was present, and was elected the first vice-president of the Federation; but he never acted in that capacity, because his Lodge did not affiliate with the Federation after its permanent establishment. The Knights of Labor sought admission, but were not permitted to affiliate. The main purposes of the convention were to outline the scope of the Federation, and to adopt a constitution for future guidance. Burlington was chosen as the next convention city."

#### SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1894

In 1894, May 21-23, the second convention met at Burlington. Thirty-one unions and trades assemblies were represented, the total membership approximating 1,800." A report from the organizer, Mr. W. E. O'Blenness, indicates that some legislative enactments favorable to organized labor had been passed by the last General Assembly;" but it is probable that this activity can not be attributed in any large measure to the efforts of organized labor, because the Federation had at this time no funds with which to support a legislative lobby, and the men who were most capable and interested were too busy with their daily tasks."

Resolutions encouraging independent political action; favoring the restriction of immigration; protesting against the mainte-

nance of a large body of armed men as a needless expenditure of money; protesting against Chinese immigration; encouraging the purchase of union-made articles; pledging assistance to secure amendments to the conspiracy laws in Iowa; and the expression of a desire to have established a free employment bureau were passed. A petition "asking for the passage of the bill for an act to provide free employment offices" had been presented to the legislature February 12, 1894, by the Iowa State Federation of Labor." The convention also voted to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

#### THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1895

The third convention was held at Ottumwa, May 20-21, 1895, with eighteen delegates present." Four cities were represented: Burlington, Ottumwa, Dubuque, and Des Moines. The report of the secretary-treasurer is a rather gloomy one. He states that, "the total membership as reported last year was about 1,700. At this time, as near as can be estimated, 814 per capita paying members, in addition to which each trade and labor assembly represents more or less other members that are not otherwise affiliated; which shows that while we have only lost about forty per cent of our organizations, we have lost about fifty-one per cent of membership."<sup>88</sup> While the language is not exactly clear, yet it indicates the great influence exerted on organized labor by the hard times of that period. A resolution was presented remonstrating against the work of the "Associated Charities" in various cities for taking "contracts for street cleaning and other work, at prices that contractors who are willing to pay a fair day's wages for a fair day's work, can not compete with."<sup>89</sup> At this convention a resolution was presented, seeking to change the time of meeting from the third Monday in May, to the second Monday in December, on account of the inconvenience of the former date to the building trades." The records do not state whether this resolution was adopted.

#### FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION ABANDONED, 1896

In 1896 no convention was called. This was due partly to two reasons. The financial stringency of that period affected organized labor very seriously, and it was only by the expenditure of a very great effort that the organization was kept alive.

Moreover, the resolution of the preceding convention, changing the time of meeting from May to December, had caused some confusion regarding the time of meeting. A proposition to postpone the convention until May, 1897, was submitted by the executive board during the latter part of the year to the affiliated unions, and was accepted. Little interest was taken in the matter, and the strength of the Federation seemed to wane.

#### FIFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1897

The fifth annual convention met in Des Moines, May 24-26, 1897. In the winter of 1897 preceding the convention, the secretary-treasurer of the Federation had succeeded in organizing the United Mine Workers local No. 55, of Des Moines; and with this impetus, sixteen delegates, representing the cities of Muscatine, Burlington, Dubuque, Ottumwa, Marshalltown, and Des Moines, assembled to take up the work of the State Federation again. Some changes were effected in the organization of the Federation to meet the existing financial conditions and methods of representation, and resolutions were passed denouncing the convict labor system, urging a decrease in the hours of toil, and pledging support to the bill before the Iowa Legislature, known as the Temple Amendment, which provided that no "insurance, relief benefit, or indemnity, etc., should constitute a bar or defense to any cause of action for relief."<sup>88</sup> The poll tax was denounced, and together with the road tax was considered "an iniquity inherited from ancient times." Sympathy was extended to the patriotic people on the island of Cuba, and especial emphasis was laid at this time upon the use of the union label."

#### SIXTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1898

In 1898, May 17-18, the sixth annual convention met in Dubuque, with a fewer number of delegates than ever before, only twelve being present.<sup>89</sup> Four cities were represented: Burlington, Des Moines, Dubuque, and Ottumwa, of which Ottumwa and Burlington had but one delegate each. The unions throughout the various portions of the State had grown listless and indifferent, due partly to the hard times, and partly to the lack of success of the legislative committee, which had been agitating the repeal of the poll tax law, and attempting other much desired legislation. The prime cause of the failure of the legislative committee to

secure results, was, in turn, the inactivity of the unions in affiliation, who did not respond to the call for assistance. The usual response of the secretary-treasurer was "lack of finance", which was due to the fact that the unions in affiliation did not pay their per capita tax. Times were hard—it was difficult to collect—and the membership was not large.

Resolutions were adopted asking the legislature to regulate the labor of children in factories, mines, and workshops, which would prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age; to require all "school books used in the state to be manufactured in the state"; and to repeal the poll tax and road tax laws. The Federation applauded "the course of the administration at Washington in defending a sister republic (Cuba) from the tyranny and oppression of the freebooter of Europe," and declared that "as trades unionists, collectively and individually, we stand ready to obey our country's call for volunteers, to the end that the stars and stripes and the single star of Cuba shall float over Morro castle, and 'long may they wave.' " "The Federation also went on record as favoring municipal ownership of "water, gas, electric light, street railway and telephone system, and the management thereof on strictly non-partisan lines."

#### SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1899

In 1899, May 16-17, the seventh annual convention met in Ottumwa. Thirty-four delegates were present, representing nine cities and a number of mining camps adjacent to Ottumwa. There seems to have been a general awakening among the wage earners of the State. Labor was recovering from the industrial depression, and a great many unions had been organized throughout the country. A strong impression was made at this time upon the leaders of organized labor by the results obtained from compact organization, which had secured several notable victories for labor, and greater assurance of the future of the Federation was felt.

The miners, by the aid of their State organizations, had obtained recognition from the mine operators, and the establishment of an eight-hour day. The building and printing trades of the various cities of the State had obtained similar concessions. The cigar-makers met in State convention just preceding the

Ottumwa convention, and were instrumental in helping establish the Iowa State Federation of Labor on a more permanent basis, by presenting and securing the adoption of a resolution dividing the State into districts for organization purposes; "the central bodies in the districts so apportioned" were "empowered to appoint deputies to organize the workers in their respective trades, with a view to their affiliation with the Iowa State Federation of Labor." There were no funds for this purpose, so a banner was to be awarded to the district showing the largest number of unions organized."

The convention endorsed a resolution passed by the State Typographical Convention, seeking to establish the production of textbooks for the common schools of Iowa in the printing offices and binderies of Iowa, and urging upon "the Iowa Central Assembly the wisdom of relieving patrons of the schools from tribute to the book trust in buying the means of education for their children, and in some considerable measure encourage in Iowa the industry and art of making books."

The interest of the Federation in the schools of Iowa is further evidenced at this time in the following resolution: "Whereas, It appears from a news dispatch from Ames, Iowa, appearing in the State Register of Feb. 5, 1899, that it is the purpose of the school authorities of the State to supplant some twenty pages on civil government in the 'Iowa Teachers' Hand Book' with matter covering the study of horticulture; and,

"Whereas, While not wishing to underestimate the value or to discourage the study of horticulture (which by teachers is regarded as coming under the head of what is known to them as nature study), we yet deem it most unwise to deprive the pupils of the public schools of the fullest advantage in acquiring knowledge as to the form and nature of the government in which they must in time take an active part.

"Be it therefore Resolved, (1) That the Federation protests on behalf of thousands of Iowa citizens, who have no other organization to speak for them, against any step by any school authorities in the state which shall tend ever so little to deprive the children of the people of knowledge concerning that which concerns us all,—government, and especially 'government of, by, and for the people.' (2) That the secretary of this convention

shall transmit a copy of these resolutions to Governor Shaw, to Superintendent of Public Instruction Barrett, to the President of the Iowa Teachers' Association, to the President of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, and to the presidents of the universities and colleges of Iowa."

The organization went on record as favoring an amendment to Article V of the Constitution of the United States, so that in the future, amendments could be proposed by a majority vote of both houses and ratified by a direct vote of the people, instead of the present method. This amendment was popularly known as "the Gateway Amendment," and was offered by the Sioux City delegates. The Federation also urged the repeal of the Martin liquor law, and advocated prohibiting the employment of children under the age of fourteen. It opposed the trading stamp nuisance as "detrimental to the interest of home industry, injurious to legitimate means of advertising, and unjust to purchasers of limited means," and condemned any scheme for the establishment of an army post as unwise, uneconomical, and subversive to the best interests of the nation. They demanded the abolition of the contract system wherever possible and pledged renewed support to the repeal of the poll tax law.

#### EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1900

The eighth annual convention met May 9-11, 1900, at Des Moines, with sixty-four delegates. In this year the organization began to reap the benefit of its earlier struggles. The rapid growth of the two preceding years, together with the extra levy for legislative purposes, placed the Federation upon a much stronger basis.

The legislative committee reported a considerable amount of protective and sanitary legislation that had been secured at the last session of the legislature. It had put up a hard fight against the contract convict labor system which had always been, and still is, a matter of considerable interest to the labor forces of the State; but the committee failed to secure the necessary endorsement of the legislature, in part because the labor organizations at Burlington and Council Bluffs had passed resolutions against the proposed measure, thus clearly showing that the labor forces were divided."

It was at this convention that a resolution was adopted providing that "a compiler of the history of the Iowa State Federation be named at this session, he to report at the next annual convention and report, when accepted, be put in printed form."<sup>97</sup>

A resolution was presented stating that, "Whereas, That there are no statistics showing the membership affiliated with this organization,

"Resolved, That there be a committee elected to serve one year, whose business will be to correspond with the different unions to ascertain their actual membership."<sup>98</sup> This resolution was adopted and the "duties added to the present secretary-treasurer's".<sup>99</sup>

The greatest harmony had prevailed at the preceding convention, but this year a different spirit seemed to animate the organization. Contentions and strife predominated. Charges were preferred against the Burlington Typographical Union and Trades Assembly and the Council Bluffs Trades Assembly, for their opposition to the contract convict labor law. The State Miners' Association sought to have a provision enacted which would enable delegates to cast one vote for each one hundred men represented. The measure was defeated after some sharp discussion, because it was feared that by this means, one craft would gain control of future conventions. A resolution condemning the annexation of the Philippine Islands, because the inhabitants were "unfit for American citizenship" and because it would be detrimental to the "interests of organized labor,"<sup>100</sup> met with a tie vote and was withdrawn by the mover, because he did not wish to "embarrass the Federation."<sup>101</sup> The resolution was denounced as an effort to introduce political questions into the Federation. Other resolutions met with some warm discussion, while the election of officers and the selection of the next place for the convention were also closely contested.<sup>102</sup>

#### NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1901

The ninth annual convention, at Sioux City, May 8-10, 1901, was attended by fifty-three delegates, representing a greater variety of localities than any previous convention. District No. 13, United Mine Workers of America, had withdrawn in November, 1900, after a somewhat extended dispute



with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and the matter was explained at this convention. The disagreement was due to the feeling of the United Mine Workers, that inasmuch as their membership constituted a large majority of the membership of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, consequently they were entitled to a "share of the offices" and a voting strength in the Federation proportionate to their numbers. They also seemed to feel that the officers of the Federation took advantage of their position to engage in "politics", and complained that they were not represented on the legislative committee. The convention adopted a resolution to create a "committee to confer with the representatives of the miners" to secure, if possible, a re-affiliation of that body.<sup>100</sup>

No legislative session had been held during the year, and because of this the legislative committee had been inactive. Mr. Arthur E. Holder, the first delegate to the American Federation of Labor, made an interesting and exhaustive report; the historian also reported such work as he had completed, which was in reality, merely a brief outline of what he intended to do. Two resolutions of a socialistic nature were presented, one recommending the study of Henry George's *Poverty and Progress*, and Lawrence Gronlund's *Co-operative Commonwealth*, and another urging the American Federation of Labor to withdraw their lobby from Washington. Both were rejected.<sup>101</sup>

#### TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1902

The tenth annual convention met at Cedar Rapids, May 14-18, 1902, with a much larger representation than ever before. The delegates this year responded heartily to the call, and one hundred and twelve were present, almost double the number of any previous convention. The president had been active during the year in organizing unions and lecturing wherever he was called, to such organizations as the Women's League of Des Moines, the State Association of Ministers and Teachers at Burlington, the Sociological Sunday School Class, Plymouth Congregational Church, Des Moines, and to the various labor organizations throughout the State that called upon him for his services. He had succeeded in organizing the machine blacksmiths of Des Moines, and had assisted in securing for the machinists, boiler-

makers, and blacksmiths a reduction in the hours of labor from ten to nine hours, and a slight increase in wages. Through his instrumentality a circular letter had been issued for the relief of striking machinists and car-men in Cedar Rapids, resulting in the securing of some \$300 by way of a contribution to their needs.

The special committee which had been appointed to secure the re-affiliation of United Mine Workers, District No. 13, which had withdrawn from the Iowa State Federation of Labor, held a conference with the miners at Oskaloosa, July 12, 1901; and although no positive results were obtained at this time, yet they succeeded in relieving somewhat the feeling of discord which had existed. During the year a movement was set on foot by the president to secure the affiliation of a much greater number of unions throughout the State. The president also visited Ottumwa, and succeeded in settling some internal disputes in the machinists' and bartenders' unions, and addressed a mass meeting at Oelwein for the purpose of averting a pending strike. He organized a central body at Waterloo, secured the affiliation of several unions with the Federation from the same place. At Muscatine, he delivered an address in favor of "early closing and abolition of Sunday trading". In March he had organized the Carriage Workers and Trades Assembly, in Marshalltown, and secured their affiliation with the Iowa State Federation of Labor.<sup>108</sup>

Earlier in the year the executive officers of the Federation had met in Des Moines to consider ways and means for securing the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers. They adopted a plan in which it was agreed that they should propose several changes in the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and representatives from the Federation were sent to the Mine Workers' convention. A joint committee had met and approved the proposed plans, and the United Mine Workers in convention assembled, unanimously voted to re-affiliate with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and elected delegates to represent them at the Cedar Rapids convention. This added to the Federation eighty-three unions, "with a membership approximated at 12,000 men."<sup>109</sup> As noted above, while this number was nominally added to the State Federation, it did not

affiliate the entire membership as to the payment of dues.

The historian for the year, Mr. J. J. Jacobsen, filed a report stating that he had "prepared a synopsis of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, which was published in a souvenir edition of the Iowa Unionist, under date of April 12, 1902." He filed copies of the proceedings of the Federation from 1893 to 1901.<sup>107</sup>

President Roosevelt was extended a vote of thanks for pardoning John Hadden, of Keb, Iowa, who had been placed in the federal prison at Lynchburg, Virginia, while acting as an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America.

The legislative committee's report at this convention showed considerable activity, but the success it recorded was chiefly along obstructive lines. Some unfavorable legislation was successfully opposed, but the bills fostered by the committee favoring regulation of child labor and convict labor were lost. The first Sunday in June was selected as Labor Memorial Day.

#### ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1903

The eleventh annual convention assembled at Davenport, May 12-15, 1903, with one hundred and seventy-six delegates, an increase of sixty-four over the preceding convention, the greatest number yet assembled and exceeded by no convention since, (1914). The receipts of the organization had increased by nearly \$2,000, and the president had been instrumental in establishing one hundred and seventy-five new locals.<sup>108</sup> This great increase in strength is probably due to two causes: first, an increase of prosperity which stimulated organization; and second, the president, Mr. Arthur E. Holder, an exceptional organizer, ably assisted by the secretary-treasurer, Mr. J. H. Strief, had worked out the scheme for organization proposed at the preceding convention. Mr. Holder was serving at this time as deputy state labor commissioner, and declined the regular per diem allowed the president of the State Federation of Labor, but was given one hundred dollars in recognition of the great amount of work he had done.<sup>109</sup>

A resolution was adopted requiring all cities that desired the Iowa State Federation of Labor to hold its convention in their midst, to have Section 5008 of the Iowa Code enforced. This provision has remained a part of the constitution, Article VI,

Section I, until the present time, (1914). The Code reads as follows: "All persons within the State shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of the inns, restaurants, chop houses, eating houses, lunch counters, and all other places where refreshments are served, public conveyances, barber shops, bath houses, theaters, and all other places of amusement. Any person who shall violate the provisions of this section by denying to any person, except for reasons by law applicable to all persons, the full enjoyment of any accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges enumerated herein, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."<sup>100</sup> President Urick states that this action of the Federation was taken because of the difficulty experienced at the Des Moines convention of 1900 in securing meals and boarding places for colored delegates then for the first time in attendance at the conventions. The purpose of the action was to compel entertainment committees of future convention cities to make arrangements for the accommodation of colored delegates.

There had been a strike of the Bell telephone operators, and the Federation, through Mr. A. L. Urick, had assisted financially and otherwise; labor leaders were immensely pleased with the results obtained. The legislative committee had little to report, owing to the fact that there had not been a session of the State legislature. It did, however, recommend laws relating to the employment of children and the inspection of boilers. The historian gave a brief report,<sup>101</sup> in which he summarized the work of the convention and the legislative committee for the preceding year.

The State organizer, Mr. T. P. Menton, gave a detailed report of his activities, and endeavored to show the need of a permanent organizer. He stated that the "movement has been carried into fields where one year ago organized labor was unknown; from the smaller cities and country towns come the strike breakers—those who are looked upon and held out before the public by some of the learned professors and college presidents as the 'genuine type of modern heroes'—to take the places of their fellow-men in the larger cities who have been forced to strike rather than to submit to conditions far worse than peon slavery."<sup>102</sup>

The following resolution, presented at this convention, though it failed to secure the endorsement of the Federation, is significant:

"Whereas, During this so-called time of prosperity, in which labor has received an average increase in their rate of wages of 10 per cent and at the same time the necessities of life that have been produced by that labor have been increased in selling price by the employers of labor, on an average between 15 and 20 per cent, thereby depriving labor of any benefits from their increased wage, and if anything making their condition worse, while at the same time the employers are enjoying increased profits; therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Iowa State Federation of Labor in Delegate Convention Assembled, That all labor organizations affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor be requested to use a portion of one meeting night in each month to the study and discussion of social and political economics, so the remedies for the elimination of the evils resulting from our present system of active economics will be made clear, and the individual units comprising the labor organizations of the state be better fitted to exercise their right in citizenship, and give to the producer the full product of his labor.

"Yours in the fight for humanity's rights and the elimination of poverty."<sup>133</sup>

Another resolution which was presented and lost, favored "co-operation in place of competition, the ownership by the whole people of all public utilities and the careful study by all members of organized labor of the social problems as represented in the question of how wage-earners may reap the full products of their toil, and enjoy the fruits of their labor."<sup>134</sup>

The motives of Carroll D. Wright, the United States Commissioner of Labor, were called into question; and a resolution was adopted, recommending that in case of his resignation or the expiration of his term of office, that the President of the United States appoint his successor from the ranks of organized labor.

#### TWELFTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1904

The twelfth annual convention met at Marshalltown, May 10-12, 1904, with one hundred and fifty delegates present. The

president states that "the number of new unions formed during the year is not nearly so large as during any of the several years preceding, yet notwithstanding this the membership of the unions in affiliation with the State Federation increased by about six thousand."<sup>13</sup> In this, his first report as president, Mr. Urick sets forth quite clearly the policies he intends to pursue. These policies, which he has followed consistently during his regime, together with the results, will be considered later. He advocated better business methods, recommended some changes in the constitution of the Federation, suggested lines of legislative action, and reported fully on his various activities during the year.

The chief feature of the convention was the long and comprehensive reports, that of the president being first in importance, followed in order by the secretary-treasurer, the legislative committee, the executive committee, and the delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the legislative committee was a comprehensive one. It touched upon the compulsory education law which was amended, making the compulsory period sixteen weeks instead of twelve, as heretofore,<sup>14</sup> and also provided that the period should begin with the school year. The child labor law, which had passed the Senate, was reported as being defeated in the House; and a number of other measures were reported as defeated, which were thought to be for the betterment of organized labor.<sup>15</sup> The office of historian was dropped at this convention and his duties given over to the president.

#### THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1905

The thirteenth annual convention met at Council Bluffs, May 9-11, 1905, with one hundred and three delegates. The Retail Grocers' Association was in session at Council Bluffs at that time; and the first thing the convention proceeded to do— after the delegates were seated— was to adopt a resolution to appoint a committee of five to confer with a committee from the Retail Grocers' Association, as there were many things of mutual interest to both organizations. This committee was to report back to the convention not later than one o'clock p. m., Wednesday, any resolutions or actions recommended by this joint committee.<sup>16</sup> Organized labor had found in the Retail Grocers'

Association a strong opposing organization, and was making an effort to come to an agreement with it. Greetings were sent to the Women's Federation, meeting at that time at Waterloo, with a request for their co-operation for the passing of the child labor law.<sup>129</sup>

The president in his report summarized the situation concerning child labor, expressed himself as recognizing the virtue of strong organization, and ventured the hope that the State Fair Headquarters which had been maintained the year previous, would become a permanent thing.

The great part of the report of the executive committee was confined to the child labor cause, upon which the great fight was being made. The Women's Clubs, W. C. T. U., and the National Child Labor Commission, with headquarters at New York City, were assisting the Iowa State Federation of Labor in its fight for better child labor laws. Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of the National Child Labor Committee, was present and delivered a short address.

The committee meeting with the Retail Grocers' Association brought in a report which indicated that these two organizations had come to a mutual agreement upon some points, namely: supporting a child labor law, compulsory education law, the discouragement of trading with catalog houses, pedlers, and transient merchants, the patronage of union-made articles, and factory inspection.

A bill was proposed advocating for the people of Iowa an advisory initiative and advisory referendum, and offering a sample ballot therefor. It was recommended that the legislative committee of the association present this bill to the next legislature.<sup>130</sup> Such bills indicate the general trend of thought and action of organized labor—the tendency being toward democracy and the recognition of the rights of the masses.

The legislative committee reported that inasmuch as there had been no session of the legislature during that year, little had been done along this line. They recommended, however, that the incoming legislative committee advocate the following measures: First, a bill making compulsory the attendance of children under fourteen years of age, at school during the full school term. Second, a measure giving greater power to factory in-

spectors for the enforcement of their recommendations. Third, a law prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories, mines, stores, etc., and under sixteen years of age around dangerous machinery. Fourth, a bill making the present mining laws applicable to gypsum mines. Fifth, an employer's liability act. Sixth, a measure prohibiting convict labor. Seventh, an initiative and referendum law patterned after the measure being pushed by the Missouri Federation of Labor.<sup>128</sup>

The president was ordered by the convention to arrange for a label league, which had been agitated in 1903,<sup>129</sup> but had not been determined upon until this time.

#### FOURTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1906

The fourteenth annual convention met at Ottumwa, Iowa, May 8-11, 1906, with one hundred and eight delegates present. The president's report took up a discussion of the labor press, child labor law, jurisdictional disputes, tuberculosis hospital, educational leaflets, constitutional recommendations, and outlined a political program for the coming year.

The secretary-treasurer's report indicated that the organization was in good financial condition. The legislative committee gave a resume of the fight for an employment bureau, which had been lost because, "unfortunately, the State Manufacturers' Association fell prey to the hallucination that the measure was an attempt on the part of labor unions to control the labor market. The affright of the manufacturers so worked upon the Des Moines Business Men's and the Sioux City Industrial Associations that they passed through all the agonies of epileptics and succeeded in defeating the measure in the House with only 28 votes in favor of the bill."<sup>130</sup> The committee reported that the Retail Grocers' Association did not live up to the agreement made with the Iowa State Federation of Labor during the preceding year. The child labor leaflets which had been issued in the past, together with the efforts of organized labor and others for better child labor laws, bore fruit in the passage of a child labor law by the Thirty-first General Assembly.<sup>131</sup>

Resolution No. 4 of this convention proposed changes in the high school courses for the State of Iowa which would tend to



eliminate German, Latin, Chemistry, and Botany as of very little value. A law course was suggested as a substitute of vital importance, which should continue over four years and permit graduates of high schools having such courses to be admitted to the bar. The convention, however, did not concur in this resolution.<sup>128</sup> It is of interest because it represents the desire on the part of some of the laboring men to secure for their children equal advantages through the only avenue that seemed to offer itself to them. It is to organized labor that we owe, in no small measure, the free public school system of our country. They saw the advantages of an education and demanded that their children should be educated at the hands of the general public.<sup>129</sup>

#### FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1907

The fifteenth annual convention met at Keokuk, June 11-14, 1907, with one hundred and three delegates present. The president reported that the "number of new organizations and the number of members added to many of the older unions have been almost phenomenal."<sup>130</sup> He attributed much of this increase to the use of the monthly bulletin, and the policy with regard to the labor press which he had been pursuing. His report was exhaustive, touching, as usual, the important matters of interest to organized labor, including an emphatic and advanced legislative program, and his former policy of co-operation with the associations of the State in working for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. The secretary-treasurer stated that the organization was in good condition financially.

The legislative committee reported its first real fight against convict labor in the legislative assembly of 1907. Their efforts had also been inaugurated with regard to a definitely outlined plan concerning the modification of assumption of risk, contributory negligence, and fellow servant rules. A number of other bills in which organized labor was particularly interested were reported as lost or killed. The report shows considerable activity on the part of the legislative committee and undoubted progress in protective legislation.

The delegate to the American Federation of Labor reported the adoption by that body of two resolutions of especial interest which had been presented by the Iowa delegate; one advocating

the establishment of a parcel post, and a second condemning Judge McPherson for his unjust treatment of the striking machinists on the Santa Fe Railroad, and urging the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to continue its efforts to secure the passage of an anti-injunction bill at the next session of Congress.<sup>128</sup>

The Iowa State Federation of Labor went on record at this convention as opposed to the commission form of government in Des Moines.<sup>129</sup> The International Typographical Union reported the securing of an eight-hour day, and a resolution of support for the striking carpenters of Dubuque was adopted.

The executive committee reported an expenditure of \$76.25, half the expense on a case to enjoin the State binder from sending State work out of the State. "The case was settled by the firm recognizing the illegality of having work done outside of the seat of government."<sup>130</sup>

The executive committee had adopted a resolution "requesting all central bodies to request the exchange of fraternal delegates with ministerial associations in their locality."<sup>131</sup> This matter had been brought up in the preceding convention. Subsequent events have shown some slight results from this innovation, since a few of the local ministers have occasionally attended the conventions. The Federation resolved to co-operate with the farmers' unions wherever possible, in their plans for controlling the market price of their products.<sup>132</sup>

#### SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1908

The sixteenth annual convention met at Clinton, June 8-12, 1908, with one hundred and eight delegates present. Notwithstanding the fact that this year had witnessed a financial flurry which may be remembered by the great number of clearing-house certificates that were issued, yet the president in his address stated that the strength of unionism was increasing. He compared the strength of unionism in Iowa in 1883 with the membership in 1908, stating that there were nineteen unions in Iowa in 1883 with a membership of less than 500, while in 1908 there were nearly six hundred unions with a membership of over 40,000.<sup>133</sup>

No legislative session had occurred during the year just

passed, but in his discussion of the State Federation the president referred to the agreement entered into at the Council Bluffs convention with the Iowa State Retail Merchants' Association, and stated that this association had openly and brazenly violated this agreement.<sup>124</sup> As the cooperage contract at the Anamosa penitentiary would soon expire, and the Fort Madison prison contracts would terminate in two years, the president urged that the legislative committee should be on its guard to maintain before the State legislature the position of organized labor in the matter.

Jurisdictional trouble between the Davenport Trades and Labor Assembly and the Tri-city Labor Congress had arisen, but no satisfactory adjustment had been made.

The labor press was highly complimented for its good work, and a suggestion was made to the effect that the editors of the Iowa labor papers who were in attendance at this convention should hold a conference with a view to co-operating in the matter of news and policies.

The secretary-treasurer reported that the increase of per capita tax met with but little opposition, notwithstanding the financial disturbance in the country at large, and a comfortable balance remained in the treasury.

The executive board reported, among other things, a protest against the re-election of J. G. Cannon as Speaker of the House; and adopted a proclamation calling upon all Iowa unions to accept all measures of clearing-houses claimed to be necessary to bridge over existing financial conditions, but to resist all attempts at the reduction of wages.

A resolution was proposed protesting against Sunday labor and urging the passage of a six-day week law.<sup>125</sup> This resolution was referred to the committee for further investigation, was reported upon, but no action is recorded in the proceedings of this convention.

The Federation also sought to have the law changed regarding compulsory education; the regulation of the transportation of interstate commerce goods into which the child labor element enters; a change in the present jury law, so that nine men could bring a verdict in civil cases; and a change strengthening the

State child labor law. These resolutions served as a basis for action along legislative lines during the following year.

#### SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1909

The seventeenth annual convention was held at Dubuque, June 8-11, 1909. One hundred and twenty-two delegates were present. At this convention the delegate to the American Federation of Labor presented a very interesting report. He touched upon the Buck Stove and Range case, the Danbury Hatter case, and a great number of resolutions, one of which favored the discouraging of juvenile organizations.<sup>136</sup>

The president in his report gives a short historical resume of the work of the Federation since the previous meeting, held at Dubuque in 1898. He shows its progress and development, and indicates some of the things which it has accomplished by way of organization and legislation. He reports that during the past year a number of unions have withdrawn, but that there has been a revival of interest in a number of the larger cities, brought about by a carefully arranged campaign of a week or more in each place.<sup>137</sup> The street railway company franchise was discussed, and the attitude of ministers of the Gospel, schools, and women's clubs, in seeking to establish closer relations with organized labor was commended. The secretary-treasurer's report of \$568.33 on hand shows a slight increase over the amount on hand at the preceding convention.<sup>138</sup>

The executive board endorsed the candidacy of George W. Clarke for Lieutenant Governor; advised that an attempt should be made to organize the school teachers of the State along trade lines; warned the organization and the labor men over the State against the "recent mandate of the National Hat Manufacturers' Association to discontinue the use of the label of the United Hatters of North America on all their products;"<sup>139</sup> were amused at "the late politically lamented H. [W] P. Hepburn,"<sup>140</sup> for attempting to retaliate against organized labor because it assisted in securing his defeat; opposed J. G. Cannon for Speaker; suggested regulations concerning a standard of weights and measures of foods and other products; and protested against Asiatic immigration.<sup>141</sup> The amendment of the child labor law placed upon the employer the burden of proof

of the age of children employed—formerly this burden had rested upon the inspector. A Sunday closing bill, providing for the closing on Sunday of all places of amusement to which an admission was charged, had been defeated. The legislative committee of the Iowa State Federation of Labor opposed the bill.<sup>143</sup>

A question arose at this convention over the seating of the delegates from the electrical workers. The American Federation of Labor had ordered the Iowa State Federation of Labor not to permit them to be seated, and had its representative on the ground to see that this order was obeyed. A committee was appointed to take the matter up and report its findings to the convention. There were two factions in the electrical workers: the McNulty-Collins faction, which the American Federation of Labor had recognized, and the Reid-Murphy faction, to which it had refused recognition. The committee disapproved the action of both factions, and recommended that sober judgment and common sense be used in settling the matter.<sup>144</sup> After a considerable amount of heated discussion and some parliamentary maneuvering, a motion to seat the delegates was unanimously carried. The American Federation of Labor retorted to this disposition of the matter by revoking the charter of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and threatening to establish another State Federation. It took several years to get the matter satisfactorily adjusted, because it involved the question of jurisdiction and the matter of relation between the State Federation and the unions.<sup>145</sup>

The committee on proposed legislation presented a number of resolutions concerning contract convict labor, the transportation by interstate commerce of goods into which the element of child labor enters; the State regulation of sanitary plumbing; re-affirming its former position in regard to the initiative, referendum, and recall; the change of the jury law so that nine men could bring in a verdict in civil cases; and a change in the compulsory education law, so that the truant officer would come under the supervision of the labor commissioner.

The union label was freely discussed at this convention, suggestions were made as to where union-made goods could be

purchased, and the "label order of business" as found in the 1910 constitution was formulated."<sup>44</sup>

#### EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1910

The eighteenth annual convention was held at Waterloo, June 14-17, 1910. One hundred and thirteen delegates were present. There had been no session of the legislature during the year and consequently there was nothing to report to the convention along this line.

The president in his report devoted considerable attention to the controversy between the Iowa State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, which had arisen over the attitude of the State Federation toward the split in the ranks of the electrical workers, and which had resulted in the loss of the charter of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. The officers of the Iowa State Federation of Labor had appealed to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which ruled that the Iowa State Federation of Labor must rescind the affiliation of all central bodies having electrical workers of the Reid organization among their affiliates."<sup>45</sup> This would have left the Iowa State Federation of Labor with less than forty local unions in affiliation, and would have practically destroyed the organization. The American Federation of Labor also requested all international organizations in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor to have their locals in Iowa withdraw from the Iowa State Federation of Labor. The president ventured the hope that the affair might be settled by arbitration."<sup>46</sup>

The secretary-treasurer's report shows the organization in a good financial condition in spite of its predicament, and the hearty support given the president and his fellow-workers, together with the united stand taken by the strong central bodies of the State, in regard to the controversy, give evidence of the strength and sincere co-operation of the forces of organized labor in the State."<sup>47</sup>

The convention went on record as favoring New Orleans as the point best suited for holding the World Panama Exposition in celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal in 1915.

The delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention reported that he and several colleagues representing various

Iowa organizations were denied seats, and "practically spent five days and nights swallowing blue smoke", "and waiting on them for a hearing." He felt that the labor movement should be governed from the bottom up and not from the "top down."<sup>7500</sup>

#### NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1911

The nineteenth annual convention was held at Sioux City, June 13-16, 1911. One hundred and four delegates were present.

The president again gave a short resume of the growth of the organization in the last ten years; discussed the present conditions with regard to wages, hours, and sanitary conditions; and reported on his action concerning the Marshalltown, Ottumwa, and Dubuque strikes, and the Muscatine lockout. He had attended the convention of the American Federation of Labor at St. Louis, but had not been permitted to take his seat as a delegate from the Iowa State Federation of Labor, because the latter organization was not in good standing, owing to the controversy with the electrical workers. He was given a seat, however, as a representative of the Des Moines Assembly, but the differences between the American Federation of Labor and the Iowa Federation remained unadjusted.<sup>180</sup>

As to legislative matters, the president was able to report considerable progress. The law creating an employer's liability commission had been enacted, a commission appointed, and the Iowa State Federation of Labor was congratulated because of its part in the matter. The laws relating to coal mines had been thoroughly revised, placing Iowa in the front rank with respect to this class of legislation. The president recommended manual training in the public schools and urged members of the organization to use their influence in securing requisite legislation. A trade school bill, providing for a large appropriation with which to establish a school where the various trades could be taught, had been presented, but failed to receive much consideration. It is of interest, since it shows the attention devoted to such matters by the Federation, which strongly favored the bill. The legislative campaign had been a very satisfactory one to the Federation, and marked a considerable improvement in labor conditions throughout the State.

The secretary-treasurer, in his report for this year, made a comparison of the receipts and expenditures for 1901 and 1911. This covered the ten years during which Mr. Strief held this office, and shows the great increase in the business of the organization.

A letter from the Buck Stove and Range Co. was read before the Federation, asking that it be made plain that the relations between that company and organized labor had been satisfactorily adjusted, and that the company was deserving of patronage.<sup>121</sup> The convention adopted a resolution of protest against the "unjust seizure of the McNamara brothers," and a letter was read from Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, which seemed to indicate that the American Federation of Labor was weakening in the controversy regarding the electrical workers.

A member of the convention attempted to have a brother delegate censured for reading the Saturday Evening Post, since "the typographical union has spent millions of dollars fighting the Saturday Evening Post and other companies which are unfair to our organization."<sup>122</sup> The convention, however, took no action in the matter.

The Taylor system was censured as being essentially a high speed process, and a referendum vote with reference to the Dubuque lockout was suggested.

#### TWENTIETH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1912

The twentieth annual convention was held at Muscatine, June 11-14, 1912. One hundred and three delegates were present. At this convention the Cedar Rapids plan of adjustment was presented and "endorsed," but not "accepted,"<sup>123</sup> as well as a plan for a defense fund in case of a lockout, likewise emanating from Cedar Rapids.

The secretary-treasurer states that the falling off of the receipts this year was due to the "troubles at Dubuque, and Waterloo, the central bodies of both cities getting in arrears on per capita tax payments, because of the use of all funds collected by those central organizations in alleviating conditions at home," and to "the withdrawal from affiliation of the mine workers



local at Centerville and the suspension of the mine workers local at Clarkdale for nonpayment of per capita tax. ”<sup>126</sup>

The president in his report paid considerable attention to the industrial controversies; the Des Moines street car strike; Muscatine strike and lockout; and the strike at Waterloo. He referred to the permanent relief plan to be brought before the convention known as the Cedar Rapids plan; but he took the ground that such a proposition as had been proposed was too comprehensive and would meet with opposition from many of the internationals, as an interference with their relief system.<sup>127</sup> The president reviewed the present employer's liability and workmen's compensation laws in force in the country, and suggested that, "Whatever plan is adopted by Iowa, it should not include any payment of any part of the laborers' earnings into any fund, but should provide a method under which the entire compensation for personal injuries can be added to the cost of production of the commodity, and thus be distributed among society in accord with their consumption of the commodities embracing the industrial risk. ”<sup>128</sup>

The president recommended additional legislation looking toward an increase in the number of inspectors for the Department of Labor, regarding the protection of the women and the reporting of accidents; an examination testing the efficiency of plumbers; some uniform regulation in the construction and transportation of electrical appliances, as well as the regulation of construction on electrical work, and a barber's examination bill.

The controversy between the Iowa State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor which had its origin in the Dubuque convention, and which resulted in the suspension of the Iowa State Federation of Labor on August 19, 1910, was reported adjusted; and the Iowa State Federation of Labor again in full affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.<sup>129</sup>

The convention re-affirmed its former action with reference to the initiative, referendum, and recall, jury laws, compulsory education law and exemption laws.

The Shankland Bill, which substituted "the free American ballot for the petition system of consent, which has often been used as a co-ercive measure against the workingman by unscrup-

ulous politicians and puritan Shylocks,'<sup>128</sup> was subscribed to at this convention; the Taylor system, represented as in use by the United States Government in the management of certain of its shops, and which based its operation on the use of a stop watch, was again condemned.

The president's stand concerning the workmen's compensation law was commended, and an advanced ground taken in a recommendation favoring "the enactment of a law granting a compensation for injuries received, from a fund raised from the industries of the State and based upon the proportion of hazard therein, no part of said fund to be contributed by the employees.'<sup>129</sup>

#### TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1913

The twenty-first annual convention was held at Des Moines, June 10-13, 1913. One hundred and nine delegates were present. The secretary-treasurer's report showed a slight increase in the receipts over the previous year, and stated that there had been some growth in membership also.

At this convention Mr. A. L. Urick, who had been president of the Federation for the past ten years, resigned, having been appointed to the position of State Commissioner of Labor. Mr. J. H. Strief, Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation for twelve years past, was selected to fill the position vacated by Mr. Urick.

A controversy arose over the seating of the delegates from the carpenters' union, No. 106. The grievance committee presented a resolution which was passed by the convention, stating that the carpenters had violated sections 2 and 6 of the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. The delegates were seated, but the carpenters were requested to comply with sections 2 and 6 of the constitution of the Federation within thirty days or be suspended.<sup>130</sup> The Sheet Metal Workers local, No. 123, protested this decision,<sup>131</sup> but the Federation permitted it to stand, without attempting, however, to settle the jurisdictional dispute which the discussion involved.

The report of the labor enactments of the last General Assembly was especially gratifying to the Federation since it included a workmen's compensation law, which was an outgrowth of the employer's liability and workmen's compensation

commission of two years previous; a law providing for the inspection of gypsum mines by the State Mine Inspector, which had been agitated by the Federation for ten years or more; and a widow's pension bill which would "completely do away with the old excuse of children under age being compelled to work to help in the support of widowed mothers."<sup>122</sup>

The executive committee reported the settlement of a difference with the American Cereal Company, by means of the Cedar Rapids plan of adjustment. They had made a canvass of the referendum plan for election of officers and reported the plan lost. An injunction issued by the local labor authorities during the Muscatine strike, "against the sheriff in hiring non-resident deputies and prohibiting the county from paying them,"<sup>123</sup> had been supported by the committee. It reported the matter in the hands of the president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and the attorney general of the State.<sup>124</sup>

The convention sent a resolution of esteem and respect to the State encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, in session in the city at the same time.<sup>125</sup> A considerable discussion and a close contest arose over the proposal to make Des Moines the "permanent headquarters of the Iowa State Federation of Labor," but the matter was decided in favor of Des Moines by a vote of forty to fifty-three.<sup>126</sup>

#### TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1914

The twenty-second annual convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor was held at Davenport, June 9-12, 1914. One hundred and twenty-six delegates were present, an increase of seventeen over the preceding year.

Mr. J. H. Strief, in his first report as president, stated that "the work of the past year has been devoted largely to the building of a bigger organization, increasing its membership, and endeavoring to get an organization just as large as the state is entitled to have, which means an organization in which every man and woman in Iowa who carries a card should have membership."<sup>127</sup> This would seem to indicate that the new president was bent upon increasing the membership, and consequently the "funds in our treasury"<sup>128</sup> as one phase of his policy. He reported that a serious attempt to settle the difficulty between

the Des Moines Building Trades Council and Local No. 106, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, had failed.<sup>100</sup> He called the attention of the membership to the workmen's compensation law which would soon be effective, and urged upon all the necessity for acquainting themselves with its provisions. "Safety first" was to be the slogan.<sup>101</sup> He entered quite fully into a discussion of the courses offered by the Iowa State College at Ames along industrial and trade lines, and urged the attention of the membership to the opportunities offered by this institution for self-improvement through its Extension department.<sup>102</sup>

The secretary-treasurer reported an increase in receipts of \$1,005.47 over the preceding year, and an increase in membership of 8,000,<sup>103</sup> with 38 new affiliations and three suspensions.<sup>104</sup>

A thorough legislative program was planned for the next year, composed largely of a number of bills which had been urged at preceding sessions of the legislature.

Among the resolutions which aroused the interest of the convention and brought forth a considerable amount of discussion in the labor press of the State, was one which would place the Federation on record as "unalterably opposed to any action of Congress in enacting any legislation that would in any way restrain, suppress, or stop the manufacture and sale of malt or spirituous liquor in any part of the United States."<sup>105</sup>

This resolution was defeated by a vote of 69 to 38,<sup>106</sup> after some rather sharp discussion. Rev. A. W. Henke, president of the Cedar Rapids Federation of Labor and delegate to the convention from that city, was a prominent figure in the opposition. His eligibility to a seat in the convention was questioned, but the question was overruled and he retained his seat and vote.<sup>107</sup>



## CHAPTER III.

### STRUCTURE AND GOVERNMENT

The original draft of the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, as adopted by the first annual convention, was based on the constitution of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.<sup>100</sup> Each year the convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor has made such changes in its constitution as seemed to best fit its needs. This is because of the democratic character of the Federation which marks most labor organizations. Amendments are usually proposed by the committee on laws and constitution, and are passed by a majority vote. The only exception occurs in case an amendment is proposed by a member on the floor of the convention, in which instance it is referred to the committee on laws and constitution, which either presents it to the convention or permits it to be modified or killed in the committee. The constitution of the Federation is thus elastic enough to meet the ever-changing needs and plans of those who are trying to work out the destiny of organized labor. This democratic character may be further noted in the custom followed by the members, of addressing each other as brothers, and in the names of the local unions, which are variously designated as camps, locals, unions, brotherhoods, and divisions.

1. *Membership.* The first constitution contained the following provisions concerning membership :

#### “ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP.

“Section 1. This Federation shall be composed of delegates from such labor organizations as shall adopt this constitution, and are organized under the trades union system.

“Section 2. Every trades and labor assembly or congress shall be entitled to one delegate, and each union shall be entitled to one delegate for one hundred members or less, and

one additional delegate for each additional one hundred members or fractional part thereof, not less than fifty.

"Section 3. Charters shall be issued to local federations of labor in any city where two or more trades or labor unions are affiliated or wish to affiliate with the Iowa State Federation of Labor.

"Section 4. Local unions with a national or international head, should have a charter from the same before affiliating with the Iowa State Federation of Labor.'"<sup>100</sup>

The basis of membership was modified in 1898, to the effect that every trades and labor assembly should be entitled to three delegates."<sup>101</sup> A further change in 1899 made the provisions concerning representation more explicit. The word "central" was introduced in Article III., Section I., of the constitution, before the words "labor organizations," and the following sentence added to the section: "Any local union affiliated with its central body is hereby allowed to send delegates proportioned as provided in this constitution."<sup>102</sup> This amendment facilitated an increase in Federation membership, and enlarged and made more definite the scope of the organization, by setting forth clearly that local unions as well as central bodies were entitled to the privilege of association. A provision was also made at this time for the issuance of charters to "local federations of labor in any city where too few trades or labor unions exist to form a central body."<sup>103</sup> This afforded the basis for the affiliation of the so-called federal labor unions referred to above.<sup>104</sup>

In the constitution of 1902, a slight change was made which permitted a representation of one delegate for each one hundred members or majority fraction thereof.<sup>105</sup> This change would seem to indicate that a union must have fifty members or more to be represented; but as a matter of fact this was not true in practice, for at no time has any organization having less than fifty members been denied representation in conventions; the fact of its holding a charter from some international or national organization was always sufficient for representation in conventions regardless of numbers. Charters are usually issued to seven or more wage-earners.

In 1903, the representation was again enlarged, and made

more specific by the establishment of the following basis of representation: "From local trade and federal labor unions one delegate, and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or majority fraction thereof over and above the first 100. From state craft organizations, city centrals, building trades councils, allied metal trades councils, allied printing trades councils, three delegates at large, provided that all local unions affiliated with building trades, metal trades and printing trades councils, in order to be entitled to representation, shall also be affiliated with city central body where one exists."<sup>104</sup> This gave representation to every union, no matter how small, but restricted the representation to one delegate for the first one hundred members. Each additional hundred or majority fraction thereof would secure another delegate.

In 1913, a new section in Article III. was added, which read as follows: "Where central bodies are composed of unions from two or more states, such central bodies may affiliate with the Iowa State Federation of Labor upon the payment of \$10.00 per year; providing, per capita tax on the Iowa membership of said unions be paid direct."<sup>105</sup> This clause provided for the affiliation of some of the central bodies, located in towns on the border of the State, which had membership in another State, such as the Tri-city Federation of Labor at Davenport and the Tri-city Labor Congress at Clinton.

The present basis of representation is fully set forth in the convention call of 1913: "The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From state craft organizations, three delegates-at-large; from city central bodies, three delegates; from local trades councils, one delegate; from local unions, one delegate and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or major fraction thereof; provided, that all local unions shall affiliate with the city central body where such exists, and also with their respective trades councils, which shall also be affiliated with the city central body and the state craft organization. Local unions affiliated with the Iowa State Federation having less than 50 members that are located in isolated districts or those unions whose finances will not permit of being represented by a delegate, may transfer the vote of their union to one of



the delegates-at-large from a state craft organization: provided, that no delegate-at-large from a state craft organization shall be allowed more than 10 votes. No delegate-at-large can cast any votes other than the ones he or she is regularly entitled to, without sealed credentials, signed by the president and secretary of the local union authorizing it. All unions affiliated with this Federation must be affiliated with the local city central body, where such exists: provided, that this rule shall not apply to unions which are adjacent to municipalities, but outside the city limits. Where a central organization is affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, all local unions connected with said central organization are in affiliation with the Iowa State Federation of Labor and entitled to delegates in the convention. All city central bodies affiliated shall report to the secretary of this Federation, two weeks previous to the convention, all local unions in good standing.

"Members of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics who are members in good standing of a bona fide organization are entitled to seats as honorary delegates."<sup>100</sup>

## 2. *Finances.*

a. Dues, fees, etc. The financial standing of the organization from time to time may be noted from the financial table on page 28. At present it may be said that the Iowa State Federation of Labor is well established and on a firm basis, able to care for its needs by a well organized financial system, and that its reports always show a favorable balance.

At the first convention in 1893, an entrance fee of two dollars was charged each organization affiliating with the Federation, and a per capita tax of one per cent per month was provided for. The executive board was given the power to levy assessments not to exceed two cents per member, when any affiliated union was engaged in a strike or lockout.<sup>101</sup>

In 1894, the per capita tax was increased from one to two cents a member,<sup>102</sup> and in 1895 an assessment of two cents per member was levied to assist the struggling miners of Des Moines.<sup>103</sup>

In 1897, the year following the period of hard times, when the convention had failed to meet, a change was made in the constitution providing for a per capita tax of "not less than two cents

per member for the first 200 members, and one-half of one cent on all members above 200 per month.'<sup>190</sup>

In 1899, the per capita tax was changed to four cents a member per year, with the proviso that if the "revenues prove too small, the executive committee, by a two-thirds vote, may levy such assessment as may be deemed necessary."<sup>191</sup> It was found necessary to levy an assessment of five cents, for legislative purposes, during the year. This enabled the Federation to support in a small way a legislative lobby, and marks the beginning of effective activity along that line. From this time on there is a gradual increase in the salaries of the officers, and an increased amount available for a legislative lobby.<sup>192</sup> In 1900, the per capita tax was increased from four cents, to eight cents per member per year.<sup>193</sup>

In 1902, the plan of taxation introduced at the Ottumwa convention of 1899, was made more definite. The revenue was now to be derived as follows: "From all local trade and federal labor unions a per capita tax of one cent per month, payable quarterly, through central bodies where such exist. From city centrals, building trades councils, allied metal trades councils, allied printing trades councils, and state craft organizations, an annual fee of \$10.00, payable quarterly."<sup>194</sup> The secretary-treasurer found that there had been a decided tendency for the membership to dwindle, when it came to paying the per capita tax, and had noticed a considerable increase in membership on other occasions, when fees were not likely to be called for.<sup>195</sup> It is not unlikely that the members of organized labor had learned some lessons along this line from observation. It has occasionally been noted in recent years that some of the more wealthy organizations appear very reticent about divulging the exact status of their affairs.

In 1903 a distinction was made between male and female members. The per capita tax was increased from one cent to one and one-half cents per month for male members, and the female members were to pay one cent per month as formerly.<sup>196</sup> In 1906 a clause was added providing, "that but one cent a month per capita tax shall be collected from Newsboys' Unions."<sup>197</sup>

In 1907 the per capita tax was raised from one and one-half cents per month for male members to two cents.<sup>198</sup> In 1910 the

per capita tax was increased one-half cent for both male and female members, making the present rate two and one-half cents per month for male members, and two cents per month for female members.<sup>299</sup>

Aside from the income from the per capita tax, the Federation receives a considerable amount yearly from charter fees, and annual fees from trade councils and State organizations in affiliation. The charter fee from "local organizations affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor" is—and always has been—one dollar.<sup>300</sup> The charter fee for state and city central bodies was formerly three dollars, but in 1908 it was changed to five dollars.<sup>301</sup>

In 1902, when the general plan of taxation was changed, and the levy made upon the organization rather than upon the individual, from "city centrals, building trades councils, allied metal trades councils, allied printing trades councils, and state craft organizations, an annual fee of \$10.00 payable quarterly," was required.<sup>302</sup> This fee was increased in 1903 to fifteen dollars, where it remains at the present time.<sup>303</sup>

It will be seen from this resume that the funds of the Federation come from three sources: A per capita tax, for which the affiliated organizations, as organizations, are responsible; the charter fees, which, because they are only collected upon affiliation, must of necessity be small; and what might be termed an organization fee, paid by the trades councils and state organizations. This arrangement has secured financial stability, and helped very materially in adding permanence to the organization.

b. Expenditures. The credit of an institution or organization depends not only upon its source of income, but also upon the manner in which this income is expended. Perhaps the most important item of expenditure in connection with the Iowa State Federation of Labor is the provision for a legislative fund. This was introduced into the constitution of the organization in 1901, and marks the establishment of a policy which was not only to have important and far-reaching results, but which is in reality the chief reason for the existence of the organization. The article referred to is as follows: "All funds, derived from whatever source, shall be divided as follows: 50 per cent in the general fund and 50 per cent in the legislative fund."<sup>304</sup> In 1902

this article was changed to read as follows: "The funds derived from the source provided in Section 2, Article VII., shall be divided as follows: 75 per cent in the general fund and 25 per cent in the legislative fund."<sup>208</sup>

Although in 1903 all the funds derived from the sources provided in Article III, were placed in one general fund, and so remain until the present time, yet this brief summary will tend to show something of the emphasis placed upon the attention to legislative enactments by the Federation, and establishes definitely the date from which actual results began to be secured in this line of activity.

It might be supposed that such an organization as the Iowa State Federation of Labor would expend a considerable amount of money in benefits, in case of strikes and lockouts, but there is no direct provision in the constitution for such an expenditure, although there is a provision which, by implication, would probably permit it. "No organization affiliated with this State Federation shall be entitled to any financial benefits until it has been connected therewith for three months, and any organization in arrears for a period of three months shall be suspended until all arrears are paid. No organization, when suspended, shall be entitled to financial benefits until six months after reinstatement. All local unions, central bodies, and state organizations shall have thirty days' notice before suspension can become effective."<sup>209</sup> This provision has been a part of the constitution from the beginning—the time limit only being changed in 1904, from six months to three.

The constitution, under the head of "strikes," provides for the suspension of dues, if necessary, in case of strikes or lockouts, until after the difficulty is adjusted.<sup>210</sup> An occasional assessment has been made to assist striking unions, but it can not be said that it is the policy of the Federation to afford any regular means for providing benefits out of the general fund.

The funds of the organization, aside from maintaining the legislative lobby and the payment of salaries and traveling expenses of its officers and representatives, are expended for printing, stationery, postage, telegrams, incidental to keeping alive and active such an organization. No extravagant expenditures of money for luxuriously appointed offices, or for unwise

social or financial schemes have ever been indulged in. The men who have handled the funds of the organization have never been accused of misapplying one cent of the money entrusted to their care, and the usual report of the auditing committee is to the effect that "We find the books of the secretary-treasurer to be kept in a business-like manner, and wish to compliment the Federation in having such an efficient officer."<sup>1908</sup>

3. *Officers and their powers.* The officers of this Federation "consist of a President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, who, with four elective members, shall constitute the Executive Board; a Legislative Committee, consisting of the President and two elective members; a delegate and alternate to the A. F. of L.; an Auditing Committee, to consist of two members from different unions, where possible resident in the same city with the Secretary-Treasurer."<sup>1909</sup>

a. The President. "The president shall preside at all meetings, preserve order and appoint all committees, unless otherwise ordered by the Federation. He shall issue the call for the annual convention at least sixty days prior to the convention. He shall be the chairman of the legislative committee, lecturer and general organizer. He shall arrange for the organization of unions and label leagues wherever possible, and where partially successful shall report the progress made to the various national and international unions or their organizers. He shall recommend to the President of the American Federation of Labor the appointment of such organizers as he deems best, who shall act under his supervision. The president's compensation shall be \$150.00 per month, with necessary expenses, of which he shall keep an itemized account, and he shall devote his entire time to the duties of the office."<sup>1910</sup>

It must not be thought that the salary and duties of the president were always as at present. The first constitution simply provided that the president should "preside at all meetings, preserve order, and appoint all committees unless otherwise ordered by the Federation;" it made no mention of remuneration in connection with the office.<sup>1911</sup>

In 1898, the traveling expenses of the president were to be paid in case he was called from his home city, and his duties were somewhat more clearly defined, making him the lecturer

for the Federation, general organizer, arbitrator of disputes between trade unionists of the State, and leader of the struggles of trade organizations affiliated with the Federation."<sup>23</sup>

In 1900 he received three dollars per day, in addition to his necessary expenses while at work for the Federation."<sup>24</sup> In 1903 the salary was placed at \$1,200 for the year, together with the necessary expenses, and the president was to devote his entire time to the duties of his office."<sup>25</sup> In 1908 the salary was increased to \$1,350 a year,"<sup>26</sup> in 1909 to \$1,500,"<sup>27</sup> and in 1911, to \$1,800,"<sup>28</sup> at which point it stands at the present time, the necessary expenses being at all times provided for.

There are, of course, a great many things which the president does, which are not enumerated in the constitution of the Federation; and it is this inclination and practice of the men who occupy this position, as well as the other officers of the Federation to devote themselves assiduously and to the fullest extent of their several abilities, to their tasks as they see them, that has largely given rise to the present liberal policy, and the general acceptance of the Federation and its influence by the public.

b. Vice-President. "The vice-president shall preside in the absence of the president, and in case of death or removal of the president, shall succeed him and receive the same salary."<sup>29</sup>

The first constitution provided for five vice-presidents who were to succeed in regular order in case of necessity. In 1897 the number was reduced to three, and together with the president and secretary-treasurer, were to form the executive board."<sup>30</sup> In 1899 this arrangement was changed to the present plan of having one vice-president, whose duties are as stated above."<sup>31</sup>

c. Secretary-Treasurer. "The secretary-treasurer shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Federation, and after having been approved by the executive board shall cause same to be printed and distributed. He shall, not later than the tenth day of March, June, September, and December, forward to the executive board a statement of the receipts and expenditures for the preceding quarter, together with the number of unions admitted, withdrawn or suspended. He shall forward to the secretary of each central organization affiliated, suitable blanks for the purpose of ascertaining the names of unions affiliated, the number of persons paying per capita tax to the central body and the

secretary's name and address of each organization, and all business, excepting the collection of per capita tax where central bodies exist, shall be forwarded to the local unions direct, as well as to the central body. All resolutions should be forwarded to him by local unions and central bodies at least two weeks before the time for holding the annual conventions, and he shall have them printed and ready for distribution on the first day of the convention. All resolutions shall be presented in duplicate form. He shall pay out no money except on an order signed by the president and secretary, and he shall be required to show proper voucher for every item of expenditure. He shall be bonded by a reliable surety company in the sum of \$2,000, the fee for such bond to be paid by the Federation, said bond to be placed in the care of the chairman of the executive board. At the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver to his successor all property belonging to this Federation. His compensation shall be \$350 per year.'"<sup>222</sup>

The secretary-treasurer has always received a compensation for his services. The following table sets forth the changes occurring at different times:

Year	Salary
1893	\$100 a year
1897	40 a year and "\$1 additional for each union or assembly affiliated in excess of ten'". <sup>223</sup>
1899	52 a year
1900	100 a year
1901	60 a year, reduced upon recommendation of the secretary-treasurer himself as being ample compensation for the work done. <sup>224</sup>
1902	160 a year
1903	300 a year
1909	300 a year, and \$100 additional for distributing ballots for referendum votes.
1910-13	350 a year.

A sound financial basis is very necessary for the success of such an organization, and it is necessary to have a good system of collections, with a capable man to administer this system, in

order to secure such a basis. A casual glance at the changes in the constitution, relative to the duties of the secretary-treasurer, which also provides somewhat for the administration of the office, scarcely tells the whole story in this instance. Mr. J. H. Strief states that when he took charge of the office the "treasury was depleted. The books were turned over to me at that convention—in 1901—with very little if any balance on hand. Along with the books, I was handed the unpaid convention bills, which amounted to considerable. I then began my earnest efforts as a good collector, and in a year had plenty of funds on hand (aiding in the meantime in securing a number of new affiliations). This was brought about by my instituting a system of collection from the various city central bodies, instead of collecting the per capita tax from each individual local union. I succeeded in installing a system of collecting for all local unions through the secretaries of the various city trades and labor assemblies. This worked so well that in 1903 we were enabled to place our president on a permanent yearly salary, where previously he drew a per diem for only such days as he might be called out. We have always had money on hand every year since, to meet all obligations readily, and to show a good balance on hand at the end of each fiscal year.'"<sup>226</sup>

d. Legislative Committee. "The legislative committee shall familiarize themselves with all matters pertaining to labor legislation and shall, subject to the call of the executive board, be prepared to attend any legislative session and do such other work of interest to the labor movement as the executive board may from time to time direct. Their compensation shall be \$6.00 per day and railroad fare for actual time spent at any legislative session.'"<sup>226</sup>

Since the main purpose of the Federation is to influence legislation, this committee is of peculiar importance. It is the feature of the Federation which has attracted the attention of the people at large, and upon which the eyes of organized labor have generally been focused, in an attitude of hope and expectancy. Its history, like most of the features of the Federation, has been a varied one, owing to the fact that the best method for accomplishing a given end is not always evident at first, and it is often necessary to try a number of methods before the



right one seems to present itself.

The first legislative committee consisted of three men chosen by the convention. Their duties were not defined and no arrangement was made for their support. In 1906 the number was dropped to two.<sup>299</sup> In 1908 the provision for a legislative committee was dropped entirely, and the following clause inserted in the constitution: "The President shall comprise the Legislative Committee, and if in his judgment it shall be deemed of sufficient importance for additional members, he may employ anyone to assist him during a Legislative Session."<sup>300</sup> This arrangement for the legislative work obtained until 1912, when for the president was substituted a legislative committee consisting of "the president, and two elective members."<sup>301</sup>

A stated compensation was provided, and the duties set forth as follows:

"The legislative committee shall familiarize themselves with all matters pertaining to labor legislation and shall, subject to the call of the president, be prepared to attend any legislative session and do such other work of interest to the labor movement as the president may from time to time direct. Their compensation shall be \$5.00 per day and railroad fare for actual time spent at any legislative session."<sup>302</sup>

In 1913 the legislative committee was made "subject to the call of the executive board" instead of the president, and required to "do such other work of interest to the labor movement as the executive board may from time to time direct."<sup>303</sup> The compensation was increased to six dollars per day and railroad fare.<sup>304</sup>

This change does not imply any lack of confidence in the ability of the president, but rather gives evidence of a desire to distribute more fairly the increasing duties of the officers by giving something more to the executive committee. It may also reflect the general purpose of the Federation to keep the powers from concentrating in the hands of one man, and to give all a chance to express themselves, a disposition which has been referred to before as a "democratic spirit."

e. Executive Board. "The Executive Board shall have the power to transact such business as may require immediate action and such other business as may be deemed necessary for

the welfare of this organization. Five members of the Executive Board may call a special session of the Federation, and shall submit a report of their transactions to the following convention.'<sup>283</sup>

Four of the members of this board are elective, and serve with the president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer. Its personnel has varied somewhat from time to time, furnishing at one time an outlet for the energies of a group of vice-presidents, but the general duties of the board have always been practically the same. Cases of emergency, involving strikes, jurisdictional disputes within the ranks of organized labor within the State, and the relationship with such other organizations as the American Federation of Labor, come within the scope of the activities of this board. Here, too, the general policies of the Federation and all matters of interest to organized labor in general, are freely taken up and considered, and frequently some definite line of action which finds expression in the policy of the ensuing convention is formulated. For instance the reports of this board give evidence of having helped to determine the line of legislative activity. "The following legislative measures were given careful consideration and made a part of the regular program."<sup>283</sup> We find it supporting an injunction issued "during the Muscatine strike . . . against the sheriff in hiring non-resident deputies, and prohibiting the county from paying them"<sup>284</sup>; attempting to secure affiliation with farmers' organizations;<sup>285</sup> inspecting the records of candidates for governor and legislative positions;<sup>286</sup> and passing upon the much agitated initiative and referendum policy for the Federation.<sup>287</sup>

f. Auditing committee, and delegate to American Federation of Labor. The duties of these two offices are set forth as follows:

"The auditing committee shall examine the books, vouchers and accounts of the secretary-treasurer on the first day of March, June, September and December, and shall certify to the correctness of the quarterly report of the secretary-treasurer.

"The delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention shall attend the convention of that body and make a full report of the proceedings of the convention. He shall receive

as compensation \$5.00 per diem, hotel expenses of \$2.00 per day and transportation by the most feasible route."<sup>288</sup>

The first delegate who actually attended a convention of the American Federation and reported to the State Federation of Labor, was Mr. A. E. Holder, in 1901.<sup>289</sup> The State Federation is not under obligations to send a delegate, but it is very much to its interest to do so. Reports of the doings of the American Federation of Labor are brought back, and in this way gotten to the members of the State Federation. The delegate occasionally presents resolutions, and always keeps a look-out for the interests of the State Federation, championing its cause whenever necessary. This officer forms one of the chief points of contact between the Iowa State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, and is important mainly for this reason.

g. Committees and other officers. A great amount of work at each convention is done through committees. These together with the sergeant at arms, and such minor officers as occasion seems to demand, are appointed by the president. The committees provided for by the constitution are as follows:

- "1. Committee on Credentials.
2. Committee on Laws and Constitution.
3. Committee on Resolutions.
4. Grievance Committee.
5. Committee on Rules.
6. Committee on Labels.
7. Committee on Proposed Legislation.
8. Committee on Distribution of Officers' Reports.
9. Committee on Building Trades."<sup>290</sup>

4. *Initiative and Referendum.* Numerous references are made in the proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor to the initiative and referendum. This pertains to two things: the American Federation of Labor and the Iowa State Federation of Labor are both on record as favoring an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, whereby the initiative and referendum may be introduced into national politics.<sup>291</sup> As early as 1895 we find the State Federation favoring a reform ballot for the State, which would enable a voter to express his preference for or against legislative enactments, at the

same time and on the same ballot which he used in voting for candidates for State office.<sup>33</sup> This method of determining the will of the people has already become familiar in local politics.

The initiative and referendum has also been agitated for the local government of the various national organizations and crafts of organized labor throughout the United States, and has its promoters in the ranks of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. In the national organizations the referendum is generally in vogue. For instance, with respect to a proposed amendment to the constitution of a national organization, any local may propose an amendment but a certain number of other locals must second the proposal. Ballot is then taken throughout the unions, including the United States and Canada. In case of the cigarmakers' union and some others, when an amendment is proposed in convention, a majority vote is necessary; but when proposed by a local, a two-thirds vote is required. The Iowa State Federation of Labor is not governed by the initiative and referendum, although agitation for it began as early as 1906.<sup>34</sup> This method was attempted in the election of officers for the Federation in 1909-1910.<sup>35</sup> A rather elaborate provision had been made and was introduced into the constitution of the Federation in 1909,<sup>36</sup> regulating the date of election, hours for voting, eligibility, sample ballot, manner of counting the votes, judges, etc. The attempt proved unsatisfactory and a committee appointed to consider the matter "reported the present referendum election plan impractical and referred the entire matter of the election of officers back to the convention."<sup>36</sup>

The executive committee (January, 1911) made a canvass of the referendum ballot, and reported that in "several instances the referendum principle was violated by means of one and sometimes two members, marking all the ballots. Another instance was found where one local had made returns in one handwriting of over 100 ballots, while it is known that less than 50 per cent of that number were present at the meeting when the vote was taken."<sup>37</sup> The committee unanimously adopted the following resolution, which sets forth their objections to the system: "We, the members of Board, having canvassed the referendum vote and find the same ambiguous in so far as the returns are concerned, even such as to leave the impression with the members

of said Board that the same was not truly representative of the Iowa State Federation, and, further we find under investigation that the I. S. F. of L. is not able financially to put the same in effect had there been no irregularity in the same, and we therefore deem it advisable to refer the entire matter to the next convention for a canvass of the same.'"<sup>84</sup>

The referendum plan still had its advocates, however, and recently Dist. No. 13, United Mine Workers of America, presented a resolution to the convention threatening to withdraw from the Federation unless the organization put the system into effect for the election of officers."<sup>85</sup> The executive committee, during the year 1912-1913, took the matter up again and "a complete canvass was then made on the referendum plan for the election of officers as provided for by the Muscatine convention." The grand total shows 1,104 for the plan, and 1,348 against it."<sup>86</sup>

So far, then, the initiative and referendum has not been a part of the government of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, although it may be said that the system has been tested. This does not indicate, however, that the desire on the part of some of its promoters to make use of the system has in any wise abated, or that it may not in the future become incorporated in the structure and government of the organization.

5. *City Centrals, Locals; Relation to Constituent Elements.* The relationship existing between the city centrals, state organizations, local trade councils, and local trade unions, is purely a voluntary one. The Federation is composed of the organizations, which adopt the constitution of the Federation, provided they are organized under the trade union system,<sup>87</sup> and are "affiliated with the local central body and their respective trades councils, where such exists."<sup>88</sup>

There is no provision for jurisdiction over any of these organizations by the Federation. This is largely owing to the fact that the locals came first in point of time, and became affiliated with their own nationals where such existed, or organized themselves into nationals before affiliating with the Iowa State Federation of Labor.

The Federation issues charters to organizations affiliating, and the ideal situation would probably be to have every organization in the State a member of the State Federation. This is

not the situation at present, there being at the present time only seventy-three organizations in affiliation paying per capita tax and dues." But, as previously stated, this does not represent the entire number of affiliated organizations. Through the per capita tax of central bodies or by direct levy, the amounts collected include the per capita tax paid to the State Federation, and are thus collected by central bodies and paid by them into the treasury of the State Federation. New charters are continually being issued, and membership from local and State bodies is growing.

The city centrals, composed of the different local unions throughout a given community, have a much closer point of contact with local matters than does the State Federation, which does not attempt to dictate in any way in matters of local import, intervening only as an arbitrator in cases of difficulty.

Jurisdictional disputes between the various trades occasionally arise, and when such cases become acute, the matter usually comes before the convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. There it is discussed freely and some action is taken in the matter. This action usually takes the form of kindly advice looking toward the settlement of the affair by friendly agreement between the parties concerned. A case in point may be noted in the difficulty arising between the Iowa State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, because the Iowa State Federation of Labor had seated the delegates of a faction of the electrical workers, who had been protested by the American Federation of Labor. This resulted in the rescinding of the charter of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. The president, Mr. A. L. Urick, was sent as a representative of the Iowa State Federation of Labor to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to secure the adjustment of the difficulty. In his report he stated the attitude of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in the matter, and set forth the theory of relationship existing between the State Federation and the local bodies as follows: "The Secretary and First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor took the position, however, that in order for the Iowa State Federation of Labor to comply with the Laws of that body, it would be necessary to rescind the affiliation of all Central Bodies having Electrical Workers of

the Reid organization among their affiliates. We contended that we had no power over Central Bodies in their membership; that inasmuch as these centrals are chartered by the A. F. of L., that body alone would have the power of disciplining. It should be borne in mind that between conventions we have no knowledge of what locals are in affiliation through Central Bodies. These Centrals collect all per capita taxes and remit same in bulk to our State organization, paying upon all their contributing membership in affiliation. To have complied with a strict interpretation of this view of rescinding the affiliation of such Central Bodies would have left our Federation at that time with less than 40 local unions and would consequently have destroyed our entire institution and placed us completely at the mercy of our opponents.' 1904

In a recent dispute (1912) involving several locals of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers Industrial Alliance of Des Moines, we find the Grievance Committee reporting as follows: "We, your Committee on Grievance, beg leave to report on Resolution No. 2.

"After going into the subject matter we find that the question involved is of national scope and beyond the jurisdiction of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and therefore recommend

"That the subject matter be referred to the incoming officers to use their best efforts with both Internationals and the American Federation of Labor for a final adjustment of this jurisdictional dispute, as we, your committee, feel that the Iowa State Federation of Labor cannot decide National Jurisdiction Disputes so long as the American Federation of Labor grants conflicting jurisdictions.' 1905

In the Dubuque street car strike of the summer of 1903, Mr. A. L. Urick, president of the Federation, used his good offices toward the settlement of the strike. The matter was settled by an agreement between the contending parties, but evidently not without some criticism falling upon the president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. In setting forth his attitude in the matter, Mr. Urick also throws some light upon the relationship existing between the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and its affiliated organizations. He says, "From the fact that the State

Federation in some quarters has been censured and an attempt made to punish for what was claimed an unwarranted interference on the part of its president, it is my desire to say that my actions at all times were in the interest and welfare of the entire labor movement of the state, and at no time was any authority claimed except that of an intermediary to bring the contending forces together. When the agreement was presented to the striking union it was made plain to them that no recommendation would be made by me as to whether they should reject or ratify. That they were the ones that would, in case of ratification, have to work under its provisions, and it was for them to know what they wanted. Further than this, your president retired from the room when first the Executive Committee and afterwards the entire union ratified the provisions by an unanimous vote."<sup>286</sup>

These illustrations are sufficient to show the interpretation which the leaders of the Iowa State Federation of Labor place upon the relationship existing between the Federation and the affiliated organizations.

A diagram, which Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has constructed to illustrate graphically the relationship existing between the American Federation of Labor and its constituent elements, affords another angle from which to consider the relationship existing between the Iowa State Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations.<sup>287</sup> The local trade and federal unions which do not have national organizations affiliate directly with the American Federation of Labor and may also affiliate with the State Federation. There are four federal unions in Iowa at the present time.

Local unions may belong to the State Federation of Labor, but they also belong to the city centrals and their national organizations. The regulation in the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor requires the local union to affiliate with its national, if there is one, before it may become a member of the State Federation. This has always been the case.<sup>288</sup> In 1902 a further restriction in membership was introduced into the constitution, providing that "all unions seeking affiliation with the Federation must be affiliated with the local central body where



such exists.'"<sup>200</sup> In 1911 the words "and their respective trades councils, where such exist," were added after the words "affiliated with the local central body.'<sup>200</sup> These provisions continue in force at the present time.

This shows clearly that the allegiance of the union is not only divided, but is expected to be strongest to the national organization. Naturally it would be much more intimately connected with its city central than with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and since it must also affiliate with its trades council, the allegiance of the local union, and likewise the influence of the State Federation, is necessarily remote.

The national and international is the key to the system."<sup>201</sup> The State Federation is only one of a group of units loosely held together by a spirit of camaraderie, of group patriotism, and mutual assistance. No one questions the right of any local organization to secede if it so desires. No attempt at coercion is ever made to prevent the withdrawal or secure the affiliation of any organization. The only power, outside of "moral suasion", that is exerted by the State Federation, as in the American Federation of Labor, is expulsion from membership. This has never occurred in the Iowa State Federation of Labor, except in cases of suspension for non-payment of dues. The law-making body of the State Federation is its convention, and the relationship existing between that body and its constituent elements is set forth in the constitution. (Appendix.)

## CHAPTER IV.

### POLICIES

The subject of policies has been considered under two subdivisions, designated as "Internal" and "External". Internal policies include such policies as pertain to the organization and working machinery of the Federation itself such as: Union Label, Dissemination of Propaganda, and Strikes and Arbitration. External policies involve the attitude of the Federation toward certain things which are not a part of its organization, but in which it is vitally interested, such as: convict labor, industrial education, the liquor question, immigration, woman suffrage and socialistic tendencies.

#### 1. *Internal Policies.*

a. Union Label. Requests are occasionally made by manufacturers for the union label, and they sometimes urge their employees to join a union.<sup>203</sup> This is because they have discovered that the use of the union label upon their articles, not only enhances the sale of such articles, but relieves the manufacturer of the charge of "sweating", and assures the customer that the articles have been made under such sanitary conditions as are in accord with the law.

There has been a general movement in labor circles throughout the United States to place emphasis upon the use of the label as a means of bettering labor conditions, it being understood that the union label always stands for union hours, sanitary conditions, union wages, protected machinery, and regulation of child and woman labor. At each meeting of the Iowa State Federation of Labor since 1910, the label order of business has been an important feature. A rising vote is called for, to designate the users of the union label as follows:

#### *Label Order of Business*

"All members whose clothing bear the union label will please rise.

All members who insist that union clerks wait on them will please rise.

All members who purchase only union made cigars and tobacco will please rise.

All members who patronize only union restaurants, union barber shops, union saloons and union markets will please rise.

All members whose hats bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose shoes bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose shirts and collars bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose working clothes and overalls bear the union label will please rise.

All members who employ union plumbers, carpenters, painters, sheet metal workers, leather workers, etc., will please rise.

All members who use only union made brooms in your homes will please rise.

All members who burn union mined coal will please rise.

All members who agree to insist on purchasing goods bearing labels of other organizations and not here mentioned will please rise."<sup>203</sup>

Trades which have been active in agitating labor principles, and in furthering the interests of their organization have been especially recognized by the Federation through the label order of business. The International Broom Makers' Union is a characteristic example.<sup>204</sup> All other organizations not specifically mentioned receive recognition in a clause at the close of the label order of business.

The purpose of this feature of the convention is to let the members of the Association see if their fellow members are loyal to the purposes of Trade Unionism, and are using union goods. It aids also in keeping before the union men the idea of supporting one another by using the products of unionized establishments. It is claimed by the leaders that each year, the number of members using union made goods increases.<sup>205</sup>

Special instruction concerning the label is often given at the conventions, an illustration of which follows: "Resolved, That delegates to this convention stand instructed to report back to their respective local unions that only clothing, overalls, shirts, collars and cuffs are union made when the United Garment

Workers of America union label is machine stitched on garments and stamped upon collars and cuffs. Respectfully submitted.' 1906

Scarcely a convention has passed in which there has not been repeated reference made to the union label. It is one means whereby union men and women feel that organized labor may receive recognition. They feel that if people can be made to realize that the label stands for something, and will demand union made goods, the manufacturer and producer can be forced to maintain those conditions and regulations for which organized labor stands. This, they argue, would finally rest upon the consumer, who wants his goods made under proper sanitary conditions, with a proper consideration for the health and happiness of the laborer: consequently it would not involve the manufacturer in any loss in the long run, even if he should incur immediate loss.

A fair illustration of the general attitude of the Federation regarding the use of the label as reported from time to time in the convention, may be noted from the following:

"Your committee on Union Labels recommends to the delegates present the urgent necessity of continually agitating the use and demand of the union labels and trade marks of union products among the members of their respective locals, to the end that we will eventually wipe out the penitentiary, tenement house and sweat-shop made goods. By purchasing unfair products, we are violating the principles of trade unionism and working in the interest of our own oppressors.

"Your committee further desire to recommend to all delegates present to further the use of all union labels, in all walks of life, and to impress the necessity of a strenuous campaign for the union labels upon all members of their respective crafts; in other words, keep everlastingly after non-union made goods by calling for and having the members of their families call for the fair and square goods.

"And we further urge that the labor press of the state give us their assistance in advertising and boosting the various union made label products.' 1907

b. Dissemination of Propaganda. One of the important functions of the Iowa State Federation of Labor which has developed naturally since its organization, is the dissemination of

labor principles throughout the State. This is done in a variety of ways, chiefly by means of organizers and the press, and more rarely by means of what has been termed by the leaders as "Union Revivals." The press includes the various labor papers, monthly pamphlets and occasional reports and publications relating to different phases of labor interests.

(1) *Organizers.*

(a) *Local and State.* The organizers perform a very important function in the operation of organized labor. They go about to various places wherever the opportunity seems to present itself, and endeavor to show the value and need of organization to the workers. If it is possible to interest a sufficient number of a given group or trade, the proper steps are taken to secure a charter, and a union, city central, or whatever form of association is under consideration, is organized. A local union affiliates with its national or international first; it may not affiliate with the Iowa State Federation of Labor immediately, but usually allies itself with the local trades assembly or trades council, if such exists.

There are a number of different kinds of organizers. Each International Union has its own organizers, usually acting under instructions from their president. Their duties cover a wide field of action. They may go wherever they are requested, either to organize a new local or to assist in handling some trouble that may have arisen in a particular place, such as a strike, lockout, or internal dissension. They are also occasionally sent to audit the books where there seems to be a necessity for such assistance. To defray their expenses members usually pay a per capita tax to the International Organization and a per cent of this is set aside for organization work. For instance, the organization of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paper Hangers of America require a per capita tax of thirty cents per month from each member. This fund is apportioned as follows:

Death and Disability Fund	40%
Organization Fund	10%
Journal Fund	15%
Defense Fund	20%
General Fund	15%

In the State Building Trades Council, there is an organizer who works under instructions from the general executive officers, the president, first vice-president, and the secretary-treasurer. His duties are to organize wherever possible, any Building Trades union or local council of the Building Trades union, and to organize local councils of the Building Trades crafts that exist in a town, assisting those organizations that need assistance to build up their membership. A per capita tax for this purpose is assessed in practically the same way as is that of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and the amounts paid to the local councils from the local unions vary from ten per cent per month to thirty-five per cent, depending upon whether the council has a general business agent or not.

District councils occasionally have an organizer in the field who operates along much the same line as in the Building Trades council. A certain part of the initiation fee, together with a ten per cent tax, is usually their basis of compensation.<sup>200</sup> While these organizers are, to a certain extent, working independently of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, yet they have the sanction and co-operation of the Federation. Since the aim of all organizers is the same, namely, to increase the membership, there is a mutual understanding that all organizers recommend affiliation with the allied organizations, which, of course, includes the Iowa State Federation of Labor. The Federation in turn requires affiliation with the national and city central bodies as a requisite for membership.<sup>201</sup>

(b). American Federation of Labor Organizers. In the interest of general organization throughout the State in all crafts, the American Federation of Labor occasionally sends a representative into the field, of its own accord, with a view to strengthening organization in certain localities or trades in the State in general. On the other hand, each central body may recommend a man to the American Federation of Labor as a local organizer to whom there is a commission granted by the American Federation of Labor. He may organize any unions in a town or vicinity having no central body, and he gets a fee ranging from three dollars to fifteen dollars for each new union organized.<sup>202</sup>

(c). President as Organizer. In the Iowa State Federation

of Labor, the president is the organizer, and it is his duty to organize the craft at any place in the State where he may find a need of it. With one or two exceptions—the printers being one—he may organize any craft without referring the matter to the National Organization of that craft. He usually, however, gets everything in readiness for the final consummation of the organization and then calls the matter to the attention of the National, or International Organization, which will conclude the matter itself. The provision in the constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor regarding the president as organizer is as follows: “He shall be the chairman of the legislative committee, lecturer and general organizer. He shall arrange for the organization of unions and label leagues wherever possible, and where partially successful, shall report the progress made to the various national and international unions or their organizers. He shall recommend to the President of the American Federation of Labor the appointment of such organizers as he deems best, who shall act under his supervision.”<sup>m</sup>

It will thus be seen that the president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor is a sort of free lance in the matter of organization, going wherever he deems it necessary and being responsible to practically no one. On the other hand, he has no direct control over other organizers throughout the State, but may only offer suggestions to locals or Trade Assemblies affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, or to a “brother” union worker. The custom in regard to the appointment of organizers recommended to the president of the American Federation of Labor is as follows: The organizer recommended is usually, out of courtesy, appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor, and works in harmony with the president of each organization, although he is in reality responsible to the president of the American Federation of Labor and receives his pay either from the National Organization or the local which he is organizing.”<sup>n</sup>

(2). *Revivals.*

A rather unusual type of propaganda tried for a time by the State Federation has been termed “Union Revivals.” In the president’s report for 1913, we find the following paragraph:

“A year ago a recommendation was adopted providing for a

series of Trade Union Revival meetings as a means of making our educational and organization features more systematic, and consequently more beneficial. It was hoped by having a series of consecutive meetings in all of the trade centers of the state, to be addressed by representatives of our numerous craft organizations, a general spirit of organization could be engendered and a closer co-operation secured between all of the wage-earners. With this end in view a number of the general officers of national and international organizations and several public welfare associations were consulted with during the fall and winter, and their co-operation solicited. The project everywhere received the highest commendation."<sup>7</sup>

Quite a little difficulty was experienced in securing dates that were satisfactory to the speakers who were available, but the project was carried out and sixty-three meetings were held. The plan has not been attempted since, probably because of lack of interest.

(3). *The Press.*

(a). *Labor Papers.* The Iowa State Federation of Labor early recognized the value of the assistance of the press in furthering the interests of organized labor. It has not overlooked the fact that good advertising is one of the chief elements of success in almost any enterprise.

Early in its history the Federation began to make friendly overtures to the newspapers of the State. At the first convention in 1893, it warmly commended the "Burlington Gazette for its manly course" in the interests of organized labor."<sup>8</sup> In the 1895 convention the Union Standard of Des Moines was endorsed by the Federation and made its official organ."<sup>9</sup> In 1899 the Union Advocate of Sioux City, was urged as the official organ of the Federation,"<sup>10</sup> and from this time on each convention goes on record as endorsing the work of the labor press.

In 1905, the following resolution was adopted by the convention: "Whereas, Our President, in his annual report, again calls the attention of this body to the aims, needs and objects of the Labor Press, and the importance of said press to the general welfare of the labor movement; and

"Whereas, the Cedar Rapids Federation of Labor has by practical demonstration established the fact that a labor paper



can be made a financial and educational success when owned, controlled and managed by city Central bodies, through a board of control from such body; therefore, be it

“Resolved, That this state federation hereby recommends such a policy to Central bodies in whose jurisdiction no labor paper exists, and further recommends that delegates to this convention use their best efforts to bring about this result in their respective cities.””

In 1907, the following article was added to the constitution: “All labor papers published in Iowa that are owned and controlled by city central bodies and local unions shall be the official organs of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. Said publications shall be under the control of the executive board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in all matters pertaining to the welfare of this Federation.”” This provision has remained unchanged to date (1914), and represents the nearest approach to control thus far reached. In the year 1909, the president of the Federation reported a total of nine labor papers for the State. Of these, two came under the provision of the constitution, which entitled them to carry the official endorsement of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. These two papers were The Tribune, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and The Labor Voice, Muscatine, Iowa. At the present time (1914), there are eight labor publications in the State as follows:

The Tribune, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The Labor Leader, Dubuque, Iowa.

The Labor Voice, Clinton, Iowa.

The Labor Review, Keokuk, Iowa.

The Union Advocate, Sioux City, Iowa.

The Label Bulletin, Marshalltown, Iowa.

The Iowa Unionist, Des Moines, Iowa.

The Labor Voice, Muscatine, Iowa.

In this list, two are owned by central bodies, thereby entitling them to the endorsement of the State Federation of Labor. These two are The Labor Voice, of Muscatine, Iowa, and the Labor Review, of Keokuk, Iowa. The others in the list are privately owned.

The officers of the Federation keep a close watch over the Labor Press of the State, seeing to it that no paper is published

that purports to be the "official organ of organized labor" which is not so recognized,"<sup>280</sup> and attempting at all times to maintain friendly relations with all publications both labor and otherwise.

(b). Monthly Pamphlets, Leaflets. An important use of the press in the interest of labor is seen in the publication of bulletins and pamphlets from time to time on various subjects. In the 1902 convention it was decided that a Monthly Bulletin should be issued by the Federation, which would keep the membership in touch with labor conditions throughout the State. Printed blanks were issued and sent to the secretary of each local union. "But this venture proved an utter failure, as the local unions failed to fill out the blanks and send them in . . . The only successful feature about this department was the monthly bulletin gotten up by Brother J. J. Jacobsen, of Des Moines, who kindly assisted in compiling what few monthly reports were received; and Mr. Jacobsen added enough good labor news, which he was able to procure from the organizer and officers of the Federation, to make a very pleasing and newsy labor department for the papers using it, and which was undoubtedly read by many of the union men of the state with much interest, and was copied from by papers all over the middle west."<sup>280</sup>

Mr. Jacobsen was given twenty-five dollars as compensation for his year's work in compiling the bulletin, and the continuance of this form of publication was recommended. Little was done the next year, but in the constitution of 1904 the duties of the president were increased by the requirement that, "He shall compile and issue to the daily and labor press of the state a monthly bulletin recording the events of the Iowa Labor Movement."<sup>281</sup>

In his 1905 report, the president stated that the bulletin had been sent to "365 newspapers of the state, of which more than 100 published the same either complete or in part. Ten issues were made during the year."<sup>282</sup> He urged that the bulletins be continued, and asked for the assistance of the secretaries of the central bodies and local organizations. But he found that the duties of his office were becoming too heavy, and was forced to give less attention to the gathering and publishing of news, and to devote more time to the legislative lobby and other more

important duties. Consequently, in 1911, this feature of his work was discontinued.

Leaflets have been issued by the Iowa State Federation of Labor from time to time, that are educational in character, undertaking to place before the people of the State the reasons for desiring certain legislative or other reforms. For example, when the Iowa State Federation of Labor was making its strenuous fight to secure a satisfactory child labor law, four issues of pamphlets on child labor were published, three of 5,000 each, and the other of 6,000 copies; these were distributed among the trade unions of the State, to women's federations, superintendents of schools, legislators, and to 356 newspapers. The total cost of printing and distributing these leaflets was \$149.93.<sup>303</sup>

The Federation also contributed fifty-four dollars at one time, and later added twenty dollars, to "The Society for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis," which was to be applied to the publication and issuing of "educational matter" relative to "the care necessary for the prevention of the disease, and the proper care to be administered to those who fall victims."<sup>304</sup> The Federation through the legislative committee assisted in securing the appropriation from the General Assembly for the erection of a State Sanitarium, which would care for those afflicted with this disease.<sup>305</sup>

The Federation maintains headquarters at the State Fair for the distribution of its literature and for the general welfare of its members.<sup>306</sup> It attempted at one time to maintain a Clipping Bureau, and paid the Hawkeye Clipping Bureau, of Des Moines, twelve dollars for clippings during the months of January, February and March, 1915.<sup>307</sup> This was too expensive for the returns secured and was dropped.

Since 1902, the Federation has had its Proceedings printed in two forms: an "Official Labor Gazette" or "Directory" which contains the proceedings of the convention, photographs of most of its officers, a list of all the labor organizations, nationals, city centrals and locals of the State, besides a great amount of advertising; and also a smaller pamphlet containing only the "Proceedings," no advertising or directory being included.

The Federation frequently issues pamphlets just prior to

elections, setting forth the record of candidates for office. This is done primarily to make known their attitude toward organized labor, but frequently the pamphlet embraces much more than the labor record of candidates for local or State offices.

(c). **Strikes and Arbitrations.** The strike policy of the Iowa State Federation of Labor may well be termed conservative. This organization does not order strikes, nor does it attempt to settle them when started. Its chief functions are to secure publicity, and to tender its good offices in mediation between the parties concerned; it also exempts from certain financial responsibilities those affiliated unions which are involved in strikes or lockouts. In the words of the constitution: Article VIII—Strikes. Section 1. "When any organization affiliated with this Federation shall become involved in a strike or lockout, the same having been approved by the national or international union to which such organization may be attached, and shall give proper notice of such strike or lockout to the president of this Federation, the president shall at once proceed to such place and make a careful investigation of the cause of the strike or lockout; also the financial condition of the union involved. He shall at once submit his report to the executive board, who shall within ten days submit the findings to the membership at large.

Section 2. "In case where affiliated local unions are on a strike, locked out, or whose membership is thrown out of employment by the shutting down or closing of mines, etc., for a term of one month or more, said local unions shall be exempt from the payment of per capita tax to the Iowa State Federation of Labor during that period upon approval of the executive board." 1920

To illustrate the practice of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in regard to this provision of the constitution, we may refer to the year 1911, which witnessed a number of labor controversies, among which were the strikes of the Marshalltown telephone operators, the Lenox machine shop men, the Dubuque Building Trades, and the lockout involving the Button Workers of Muscatine. In each of these instances the president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor visited the scene of action and lent all the assistance possible, by interviewing both

parties to the controversy, meeting the business men and attempting in every way to break down prejudice, and open the way to a peaceful settlement."<sup>3</sup> Further than this the Federation does not aim to go. The president has repeatedly made it clear in his reports, that all he does is to attempt to get at the facts in the case, to get the disputants together for mutual agreement, and then to withdraw, leaving the contending parties to settle their own disputes. It often happens, however, that even this policy of the Federation, which is of the most friendly and well-intentioned sort, is resented by the strikers as unjustifiable interference. During the ten years of his service in this capacity, however, President Urick was able, on the whole, to carry out its policy on behalf of the Federation, with peace and dignity. This attitude of the Iowa State Federation of Labor regarding strikes is but a reflection of the policy of the American Federation of Labor, which has from the outset regarded strikes as the necessary means to gain trade union ends under the present industrial system. The American Federation of Labor has followed a conservative course in the various conflicts between employers and employees, and has acted only as a source of moral and financial support to the national unions involved."<sup>4</sup>

The so-called Cedar Rapids Plan of Adjustment was introduced at the Convention of 1912 and was "endorsed" but not "accepted" by the Federation. This plan is as follows: "In any and all cases where there shall be disputes arising, demands made, or any other troubles arising between employees and employer, or between the various bodies of organized labor, there shall be no walkouts, strikes, boycotts or lockouts, but said demands, disputes, or other troubles shall be taken up with the Employers' association of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, by the authorized representatives of organized labor, for the purpose and with the idea of obtaining a settlement of said demands, disputes, or troubles."

"In the event that it is impossible for the representative of the Employers' association and the representatives of organized labor to agree upon a satisfactory settlement of said disputes, said differences shall be submitted to arbitration. When any matter is submitted to arbitration as hereinbefore provided the Employers' association shall choose two arbitrators, organized

labor shall choose two, and the four so chosen shall choose a fifth arbitrator, said fifth arbitrator not being in any way directly or indirectly connected with the Employers' association, or with organized labor. The decision of a majority of said board of arbitrators shall be final and binding in all disputes thus referred."

"The two arbitrators to be chosen by organized labor and the two arbitrators to be chosen by Employers' association shall be appointed within forty-eight hours from the time that the representatives of organized labor and the representatives of the Employers' association find that they cannot satisfactorily adjust any trouble which may arise. A decision of the arbitrators shall be rendered within a week after their appointment.

"From the time demands are made, difficulties or troubles arise, during the negotiations for settlement, and up to the time of the final settlement, and up to the time of the final decision of arbitrators, the employees shall remain at their work and after the decision of said arbitrators they shall continue to work under and according to said decision.

"It is understood that this agreement is between two organized bodies and that they are to be recognized as such; and that the unions and organized labor shall be recognized under the conditions as they now exist and shall work under existing conditions in shops and factories and in the building trades, and where any class of labor is organized at this time they shall not be compelled to submit to arbitration the question of working with non-union men; but if in any of the building trades or in shops and factories where they are working with non-union men this contract shall apply, and any demands or troubles arising shall be settled as herein provided. And if in any of the building trades or in shops and factories certain kinds of labor is organized and unionized and other classes of labor is not organized and unionized they shall continue to work under these conditions and the terms of this agreement shall apply.

"Furthermore, it shall be agreed and understood that if any member of the Employers' association refuses to abide by this understanding and refuses to submit any difficulty as above mentioned, to arbitration, he shall be expelled from the Employers' association. It is also understood that if any union

or body of organized labor refuses to comply with the terms of the agreement and refuses to submit any difficulty to arbitration, as above provided, they shall be expelled from the Federation of Labor, Building Trades council or any other general body of organized labor with which the union is affiliated.

"Any change in the wage scale or working rules is to be made known on or before January first and the same is subject to acceptance April first."<sup>1902</sup>

It will be seen that this plan is in the form of an agreement between the Employers' association and organized labor. It is not a compulsory arbitration scheme, and would be binding only in case each party had agreed to be governed by the plan. It has some enthusiastic supporters among labor men, while others are less sanguine of its successful operation.

The Executive Board reported to the 1913 convention, that a difference between the American Cereal Company and the Cedar Rapids Federation of Labor had been "adjusted under the Cedar Rapids plan of adjustment, and \$1,000,000 worth of construction work went forward under union conditions."<sup>1902</sup>

This "Plan" is somewhat similar to the Arbitration Bill passed by the Thirty-fifth General Assembly, which provided that in "a case of dispute between employer and employee affecting, or liable to affect, ten or more employees, either or both of the parties to the dispute, or the mayor of the city, or the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, or upon petition of twenty-five citizens, or upon the request of the State Labor Commissioner after investigation, the Governor may appoint a Board of Arbitration; the first two members thereof to be selected one from each list of five submitted by the parties to the dispute, or if either or both parties fail to submit this list, then he may appoint for them, the two so selected to submit the name of a third arbitrator, and upon their failure, the Governor may appoint a third man within five days.

"Such board to try to bring about an agreement between the parties, and upon failure to do so shall make a full and complete investigation of all of the facts of the controversy and to render a decision, such decision to be open for public inspection in the office of the city clerk; and must publish such decision with the facts upon which it is based, in two newspapers of general

circulation in the community within which the controversy arose; the purpose being publicity of facts, and is not binding upon either of the parties unless both have petitioned for the appointment of the board, under which circumstances the decision is binding for the term of one year.'"<sup>200</sup>

Compulsory arbitration is objected to by the leaders of organized labor in no uncertain terms. "This unjust overlordship formerly extended to the prison cell, the lash, the hangman's rope and the bullet, but as reason and intelligence advanced these harsh and brutal measures to restrict the growth and self-reliance of the laborers have gradually been discarded, and in their places have been substituted the manifestly unfair—injunction—and later but more subtle propositions of compulsory arbitration—and trade union incorporation—these three mischievous schemes are now before us; the former, it must be admitted, is an accomplished fact and is daily operated; they are all designed and taken advantage of for the purpose of confusing and absolutely controlling the laborer, in order to obtain a larger and still larger proportion of the wealth he produces, and aimed to reduce the wage-earner to a condition of docility and servility.'"<sup>201</sup>

It was in the above vein that President Arthur E. Holder exhorted the convention of 1903, and later in his report he said: "Demand and insist that the labor question be made the paramount issue of all party platforms, accept no dodging and no evasion, stand pat for the principle that labor wants and will have a larger and larger share of the wealth it creates until we get it all, when once this line of action is individually resolved upon and we place our own men on guard in public affairs, all the terrors of injunctions, compulsory arbitration, or any other modern device to cajole or exploit the laborer will vanish into thin air, and all classes of society with an honest intent, whether they be directors or artisans, will view the future with satisfaction and content.'"<sup>202</sup>

The following year, President Urick voiced his condemnation of compulsory arbitration: "For several years a crusade had been made for that unholy trinity against organized labor—'Compulsory Arbitration,' 'Incorporation of Trade Unions,' and extension of the power of 'injunction' to an extent never before



contemplated by any jurisprudence. With all the persuasion and cajolery at the command of the trade union opponents and obstructionists it was learned that the union movement could not be induced to accept either that misomer of arbitration—so-called compulsory arbitration—nor its drastic but sugar-coated mate, voluntary incorporation. It was also found that regardless of the ever-increasing rigors of the injunction, the labor movement was making rapid progress and that therefore some new means must be sought by which a public sentiment that was continually growing in favor of the unions could be hoodwinked and cajoled into opposition.”<sup>290</sup>

## 2. *External Policies.*

a. *Convict Labor.* The Iowa State Federation of Labor is opposed to contract convict labor. It may be said in passing that there is a difference between contract convict labor, contract labor, and convict labor as follows:

*Contract labor* is a general term, applied to the employment of a group of free laborers, under the contract system of employment. *Convict labor*, may mean the labor of any convict, in any of our penal institutions. *Contract convict labor* refers to the letting out of convict labor to contractors, under any one of several different methods of contract.<sup>291</sup>

The Iowa State Federation of Labor does not condemn convict labor, but favors the performance of useful labor by prisoners.<sup>292</sup> It opposes, however, contract convict labor. The attitude of the Iowa State Federation of Labor relative to this matter may be more explicitly set forth by the following quotation, taken from the report of the committee on proposed legislation to the Iowa State Federation of Labor. “The plan proposed by the committee headed by the Attorney General provided for the purchase of farms on which convicts might be employed, a reasonable amount of work on public highways within convenient distances from the institutions, and to employ others upon such products as are used by the state and political sub-divisions thereof.”

“The plan proposed also carried with it the payment of wages to the convicts equal to the wages paid to similar labor in the community, all accounts above the actual keep of the prisoner and expense account of conviction, the amount thereof to be fixed

by the Board of Control, the balance to be turned over to the dependents of the prisoner, or if there be no dependents, then that the same above such expense account be deposited to the prisoner's credit and be turned over to him upon his release. This would make of it a modern and just method of treatment of the prisoner, giving full protection to the state and society, and at the same time make it an incentive for good behavior and for training in good citizenship upon final release.'"<sup>100</sup>

There have been few conventions at which this question has not been brought up. It has been agitated by organized labor so much that it is probable something may soon be done; and it is certainly true that so much, and such constant agitation, both in the legislative lobby and elsewhere, has made those in whose hands the utilization of convict labor rests, somewhat cautious in the administration of this trust. Organized labor is not interested in the subject from a wholly humanitarian standpoint; yet persons and organizations who are interested in bettering prison conditions, and who seek to find some means whereby the prisoner may be punished for his crime—be reformed and at the same time take care of those dependent upon him, as well as lay up some means whereby he may start life anew when his prison sentence is done without becoming a charge upon society—will find a common ground with organized labor, which seeks only to eliminate the element of competition between free labor and convict labor.

b. Industrial Education. Organized labor claims credit for originating the idea of free and equal education"<sup>101</sup> and fosters industrial education."<sup>102</sup> Whether entitled to full credit for originating these ideas or not, organized labor has done much to foster and disseminate them.

The leaders of the Iowa State Federation of Labor favor industrial training in our public schools,"<sup>103</sup> and the establishment of trade schools if under the supervision of the State, but they object to the establishment of trade schools by great corporations and private parties for private gain. The Federation has repeatedly confirmed the recommendation of the legislative committee to the convention that "we condemn all private trade schools for the following reasons:

That they are conducted by those in charge for private profit:

That they turn out only specialists and not full-fledged mechanics:

And that they are anti-union in their tendencies:

Therefore we recommend . . . the general government to co-operate with the states in encouraging instruction in agriculture, the trades and industries and home economics in secondary schools; in maintaining extension departments in state colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts; and to appropriate money therefor, and to regulate its expenditures.'<sup>1000</sup>

In 1912 the State legislature made an appropriation for the department of Engineering Extension at Ames, and courses are now offered by that institution, which are designed to meet the needs of those who have not had a high-school education, and who desire to secure special training in some particular line. The president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, Mr. J. H. Strief, in the convention of 1914, reported to the Federation that there are courses offered by Ames—both in residence and by correspondence—for Structural Draftsmen, Building Inspectors, Surveyors and Road-makers, Mechanical Draftsmen and Artisans, Electricians and Electrical Engineers. These courses are available to all, and such subjects are taught as 'shop mathematics, shop drawing and sketching, carpenters' and builders' arithmetic, building estimating, carpenters' and builders' drawing, heat, heating and ventilation, plumbing, gas engines, steam boilers, elements of electricity, strength of materials, cement and concrete, and elements of structures.'<sup>1001</sup> Special instructors and lecturers are also sent out to points where there is a sufficient demand, to offer such courses as seem necessary or desirable. The president stated that classes have been conducted at Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Marshalltown, Mason City, Charles City, and Des Moines.<sup>1002</sup>

The Iowa State Federation of Labor is to be commended in its desire to secure the advantages of an industrial education, no matter how meager or incomplete it may be, because in its endeavor to educate its constituency to the benefits to be derived from increased efficiency, training and skill, it is raising the general level of usefulness and happiness of its membership. It is fortunate that one of the State schools has seen this opportunity, and is taking steps to assist in solving the problem, and

meeting the needs of the laborer by bringing the opportunity for securing this training to the man, if he is not able to attend the school.

c. The Liquor Question. The position in which the State Federation of Labor finds itself with regard to the liquor question is rather a peculiar one. The Bartenders' union and the United Brewery Workmen are members of the Iowa State Federation of Labor<sup>200</sup> and are naturally opposed to prohibition. The attitude of certain members of the Federation may be noted from the following resolution presented to the convention in 1909, three times discussed, but finally referred to the mover without action: "Be it resolved, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the fight that our brothers are making against the fanatics who seek to oust them from their means of livelihood, and instruct our legislative committee to use all honorable means to protect the interests of our affiliated brothers and sisters, and to assist in the securing of such laws as will be to their benefit and to use what influence they may have in combating the Prohibition and Anti-Saloon League fanatics."<sup>201</sup>

The fate of this resolution has been the same as that of several of a similar nature, both before and since that time. A serious attempt was made at the 1914 convention, to place the Federation on record as opposed to State and nation wide prohibition, but again the liquor interests failed.<sup>202</sup>

It would seem from this that while the State Federation of Labor will not go on record as opposing prohibition, yet it evidently will not take a stand favoring it, because it cannot do so and be consistent. This attitude is in accord with the general policy of the Federation as exhibited in other matters. It has steadfastly refused to take part in political issues; it has assumed the attitude of non-interference, even in regard to strikes, preferring to use its good offices in securing the settlement of disputes by conciliation rather than to attempt force; it stands for freedom of speech and thought, and has always kept in the foreground the spirit of democracy which respects the opinions and the rights of every man, and gives him as much freedom of action and thought as it is possible to give and maintain a coherent organization.

It is worthy of note that the seal of the State of Iowa upon which the words "Our liberties we prize and our rights we will maintain," are quite prominently displayed on the title page of the Proceedings of the Federation from 1903 to 1911.

It would appear to be rather high ground that is taken by the Federation in regard to the liquor question. It has seemed to disregard the interests of a part of its constituency, since it has repeatedly refused to sanction certain resolutions which this constituency has proposed; yet the Federation has certainly never adopted any policy, or sanctioned any resolution which is against the interests of the Brewery Workers and Bartenders or any other considerable portion of its membership. It must be kept in mind, too, that this attitude of the Federation is dictated by the majority of the membership, else it could not exist. Nor does this attitude necessarily indicate whether or not the State Federation would sanction National Prohibition, if it were asked to vote on the matter.

d. Immigration. It scarcely seems possible that a State so far removed from the ports of our country, where the immigration problem is imminent, would be interested in this question; but the records of the Iowa State Federation of Labor are not without reference to it. The attitude of the Federation, like that of organized labor in general, is unfriendly to immigration. The problem in Iowa is not acute, hence there has been no considerable activity in the matter; the general attitude and reasons for this attitude are indicated by an occasional resolution of protest, of which the following is an illustration: "Whereas, A large per cent of immigrants now being admitted to our shores are of such a standard of character and morals as to endanger the Standard of Living of American Workingmen, and a great number are willing to live and work under conditions that are unsatisfactory and un-American, from our point of view, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby protest against the existing laxity of our Immigration Laws, believing that they are a menace to the advancement and general welfare of American Workingmen and their families, and we respectfully request and petition our State Legislature to memorialize the Congress of the United

States on this question and ask for such a modification of our immigration laws as will exclude from the United States all immigrants who are illiterate, pauper, criminal, and who, for other reasons, are likely to lower the Standard of Living of American Workingmen.”<sup>100</sup>

e. Woman Suffrage. From the wide range of activities, and liberal policies of the State Federation it might be expected that Woman Suffrage would here find prompt recognition. This is indeed the case, and in 1906 the Federation placed on record the following resolution in favor of Woman’s Suffrage:

“Resolved, By the Iowa State Federation of Labor, that the best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship as a matter of justice to them and as a necessary step toward insuring and raising the scale of wages for all.”<sup>101</sup>

f. Socialistic Tendencies. There is no division in the Iowa State Federation of Labor which claims to be a Socialist faction, but there are a number of the men who are Socialists and many of the policies of the Federation are influenced somewhat by what may be termed socialistic tendencies. The Federation favored Parcels Post as early as 1908;<sup>102</sup> it advocates a per diem to “the wife or dependents of both County and State prisoners.”<sup>103</sup> It has repeatedly sought to secure legislative enactments looking toward government ownership and municipal ownership of telegraph, gas, water, electric light, street railway, telephone system’s;<sup>104</sup> it objects to the poll tax law as offensive;<sup>105</sup> desires the initiative and referendum in State politics;<sup>106</sup> condemns the establishment of fortifications, and objects to the standing army;<sup>107</sup> advocates free text books for our public schools,<sup>108</sup> desires the establishment of industrial and agricultural schools controlled by the State, but objects strenuously to such institutions when controlled by private corporations;<sup>109</sup> desires a Free Employment Bureau under State control; and is interested in establishing co-operative stores.”

### 3. Conclusion.

The leaders of organized labor in the State, who have been important factors in guiding the policies of the Federation have felt that they must bring about a closer relationship between the various unions already organized, and guide them and educate them in such a manner as to obviate extreme radicalism

on the one hand, or defeat at the hands of their opponents on the other.

The main object thus far has not been members, emphasis being laid chiefly on co-operation, and the education of the membership concerning the principles of organized labor. It may be possible that this policy may now give way to a renewed activity toward the increasing of the membership, since it might reasonably be supposed that organized labor is by this time fairly well established within the State; that its forces are fairly well trained in the principles of organization; and that additional strength brought about by a considerable increase in membership would be desirable.

Many of the principles advocated by the Federation are now matters of permanent public policy, and its general attitude of careful, judicious and progressive activity has placed it in the forefront of history-making institutions in the State of Iowa.

## CHAPTER V.

### INFLUENCE

1. *Upon State Legislation.* The State Federation of Labor has exerted its influence upon labor affairs in the State of Iowa as follows: First, and most important, from a careful survey of the points of interest discussed at each convention, and from the activity exhibited at each meeting of the State Legislature, it is clear that a great many, if not practically all of the legislative enactments of recent years that have touched in any way upon the welfare of the laboring man or his family, have either been fostered or heartily approved by the State Federation of Labor.

Under this head a few of the more important legislative enactments may be mentioned merely to show the influence exerted by organized labor, and not with a view of giving in any sense an exhaustive treatment of these laws:™

a. *Compulsory Education Laws and Child Labor Legislation.*

The Iowa State Federation of Labor has been an important factor in securing the present laws with regard to compulsory education and child labor. Serious agitation was begun in 1900-1901,™ and has continued until the present time. The organization has met with considerable success from this activity and through its influence definite legislation has been secured, giving protection to children as follows:™

The first compulsory education law was passed by the General Assembly in 1902.™ It required all children between the ages of seven and fourteen inclusive, to attend school for twelve consecutive weeks of each school year. The legislative committee reports to the convention of 1902 as follows: "The matter of compulsory education had the consideration of your committee, and some time was devoted in securing what is now a compulsory



education law in which children are compelled to attend school not less than three months in the year between the ages of seven and sixteen.<sup>7226</sup>

In 1903 the Iowa State Federation of Labor adopted the report of its committee on proposed legislation regarding compulsory education as follows: "Resolved: That the Iowa State Federation of Labor, in eleventh annual convention assembled emphatically declares in favor of the abolition of child labor for remuneration under the age of fourteen years; in favor of compulsory education of children under the age of sixteen years during the entire school year; in favor of free text books for school children, and the state uniformity of such text books, and hereby authorizes and instructs the Legislative Committee to act in conjunction with committees from the Iowa State Federation of Women's Clubs, The State Teachers' Association and any other organization advocating these desired principles, in the drafting and enactment into law of any or all of these measures so important to the commonwealth of Iowa."<sup>7227</sup> The legislative committee was partially successful at the next legislative session, in securing a law on compulsory education, as is evident from the following statement made at the convention in 1904. "The compulsory education law was amended by making the compulsory period sixteen weeks instead of twelve as heretofore, and also providing that the period shall begin with the school year. While this is not all that was desired, yet it is a step in the right direction, and the specifying of the compulsory period makes the law enforceable, something which the former law lacked."<sup>7228</sup>

In 1909 the General Assembly passed a law changing the period of attendance from sixteen weeks to twenty-four weeks, and gave the Board of Education in the cities of the first and second class, power to require attendance for the full time school is in session.<sup>7229</sup> In regard to child labor this General Assembly placed the burden of proof of age upon the employer, whereas formerly, in case of doubt, it rested on the inspector, and if no such proof is forthcoming from the sources suggested, the child shall forthwith be dismissed from his employment.<sup>7230</sup>

In 1913 the General Assembly changed the age limit from such proof is forthcoming from the sources suggested, the child

dren under sixteen years of age to show certificates of educational qualifications equal to that of the eighth grade, before they could be allowed to work for compensation instead of going to school.<sup>220</sup>

The child labor law as revised in 1915 prohibits the employment of persons under fourteen "in any mine, manufacturing establishment, factory, mill, shop, laundry, slaughter or packing house, or in any store or mercantile establishment where more than eight persons are employed, or in the operation of any freight or passenger elevator, or livery stable or garage, place of amusement, or in the distribution or transmission of merchandise or messages." Employment is not prohibited "in any of the above establishments or occupations when such are owned or operated" by the parents of the child.<sup>221</sup>

Furthermore "no boy under eleven years of age nor girl under eighteen years of age shall be employed, permitted or suffered to work at any time in any city of ten thousand or more inhabitants . . . in connection with the street occupations of peddling, boot blacking, the distribution or sale of newspapers, magazines, periodicals or circulars, nor in any other occupations in any street or public place."<sup>222</sup>

No boy between eleven and sixteen years of age shall be employed in such cities, nor in such occupations unless he complies with the requirements for work permits issued only upon the condition that he is regularly attending school, and that the work will not interfere with his school work.<sup>223</sup>

No person under sixteen years of age shall be employed "before the hour of seven o'clock in the morning or after the hour of six in the evening . . . and such person shall not be employed more than eight hours in any one day . . . nor . . . more than forty-eight hours in any one week; nor shall any person under eighteen years of age be employed in the transmission, distributing or delivery of goods or messages between the hours of ten in the evening and five in the morning in any city of ten thousand or more inhabitants."

Detailed provisions are made for the issue of work permits for children under sixteen by the school authorities. Before a work permit can be granted proof must be offered "that the child is able to read intelligently and write legibly simple sentences

in the English language and has completed a course of study equivalent to six yearly grades in reading, writing, spelling, English language, geography, and arithmetic."<sup>282</sup>

b. **Employer's Liability and Workman's Compensation Laws.** One of the important objects of agitation by the Iowa State Federation of Labor has been that of compensation for injured employees and of the extent of the liability of employers in case of injury to workmen. The Iowa State Federation of Labor has agitated this matter at nearly every session of the legislature since the Federation was organized in 1893, but with the exception of the Temple Amendment, which will be discussed later, it was not until the year 1907 that any definite results were obtained. At this time the Iowa State Federation of Labor "acting in conjunction with the legislative committee from several of the Railway Organizations,"<sup>283</sup> agreed with the State Manufacturers' Association upon a compromise measure which became a law, and is known as the Assumption of Risk Act.<sup>284</sup>

Until 1913 an employer's liability in case of accident was based chiefly upon the decisions of the courts in the interpretation of the common law. An exception to this occurs in the case of railroads. In 1909 a law was passed which provides "That in all actions hereafter brought against any such corporation to recover damages for the personal injury or death of any employee . . . the fact that the employee may have been guilty of contributory negligence shall not bar a recovery."<sup>285</sup> The law further provides that "damages shall be diminished by the jury in proportion to the amount of negligence attributable to the employee."<sup>286</sup> This is called in law "comparative negligence." This law also provides that "no such employee who may be injured or killed shall be held to have been guilty of contributory negligence in any case where the violation by such common carrier or corporation [corporation operating a railroad] of any statute enacted for the safety of the employees contributed to the injury or death of such employee; nor shall it be any defense to such action that the employee who was injured or killed assumed the risks of his employment."<sup>287</sup>

The legislative committee of the Iowa State Federation of Labor reported to the convention of 1909 that it had co-operated with the railroad organizations in securing the passage of the

above bill, which was a good beginning toward "securing a modification of the fellow-servant and contributory negligence doctrines."<sup>300</sup>

The legislative committee further reported to the convention of 1909, that after three years of effort an Assumption of Risk Bill had been secured that was considered "one of the best in the nation."<sup>300</sup> It provided that even though the employee knows of the negligence of the employer and continues his work, he will not have assumed the risk, unless the danger be imminent and so apparent that a reasonably prudent person would not have continued to work. The statute was not to be construed, so as to include such risks as are incident to the employment.<sup>301</sup>

One of the most important legislative acts of interest to organized labor is the "Employer's Liability and Workman's Compensation" law, passed in 1913.<sup>302</sup> In 1911 the legislature of Iowa provided for an Employer's Liability Commission to be appointed as follows: "The governor shall appoint within sixty (60) days after this act takes effect, five (5) persons as members of said commission who shall be citizens of Iowa, two (2) employers of labor, two (2) employees known to represent the interests of workmen and one disinterested person."<sup>303</sup>

Mr. J. O. Staley of Des Moines, at one time a member of the legislative committee of the Iowa State Federation of Labor,<sup>304</sup> and a coal miner; and Mr. P. S. Billings of Valley Junction, conductor on the Rock Island Railroad, were selected to represent the labor interests.<sup>305</sup> Mr. J. L. Stevens of Boone, who had been a judge of the District Court, District Number 11, in 1887-1892,<sup>306</sup> "a lawyer and largely interested in manufacture of clay products,"<sup>307</sup> and Mr. W. W. Baldwin of Burlington, Vice-president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad<sup>308</sup> were chosen to represent the interests of the employers. Mr. John T. Clarkson of Albia, "state senator and author of the bill, lawyer and former coal miner,"<sup>309</sup> was chosen for the fifth and "disinterested person." The commission met June 19, 1911 and selected Welker Given as secretary.<sup>310</sup>

The report which the commission presented to the legislature of the State in 1913 recommended that the office of Labor Commissioner be abolished and his duties be transferred to the Industrial Commission.<sup>311</sup> It embodied the recommendation of a

law divided into three parts. 1. Establishing a provision for the compensation of employees in accordance with the schedule, terms and conditions of the bill, provided the employer did not elect to reject the terms and conditions of the bill, in which case he is then deprived of the common law defences known as contributory negligence, assumed risk and fellow-servant rule; and in addition thereto, it is to be presumed that the employer is negligent and that the burden will rest upon him to show himself free from negligence. This holds only where the employer is employing five or more persons."<sup>3</sup> 2. Providing for the creation of an Industrial Commission, defining its duties and providing for committees of arbitration when disputes arise between employers and employees in regard to questions of fact or law under the new system. 3. Providing for a reserve fund to secure the payment of compensation and protect employers. This law in substance was passed, the first part to go into effect July 1st, 1914, and the remainder to take effect July 4th, 1913."<sup>4</sup>

It is evident that the present law regarding the relation between employers and employees in the matter of accident, as found upon our statute books, is due largely to the influence and efforts of organized labor in the State, chief among which is the Iowa State Federation of Labor. The law is not entirely satisfactory to all parties concerned, but it is evidently a step toward a solution of the problem. A number of the more hopeful leaders of organized labor have in mind propositions which take more advanced ground than that already established; but just at present both employers and employees seem to be anxious to come under the provisions of the new law, and its enforcement is being rapidly pushed.

c. Protective and Sanitary Legislation. A treatment of protective and sanitary legislation admits of a broad interpretation. Protective legislation includes legislation which involves the payment of wages, the assessment of insurance dues by employers and all legislation affecting the safety of the laborer and the protection of his family.

Sanitary legislation includes legislation which is designed not only for the comfort of the worker, but includes those acts which have a bearing upon the public health, involving the patron as well as the laborer and his family. Sanitary legislation is also

protective in character and is so closely related to protective legislation that it is scarcely advisable to attempt to distinguish between the two.

Protective and sanitary legislation has always been a matter of concern to the forces of organized labor. Manufacturers and other large employers of labor have been slow to provide the very best safety devices and sanitary conditions for the protection and comfort of their employees, and legislation regulating these conditions has often seemed necessary. Not only has organized labor been interested in these matters, but the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in his reports has repeatedly called attention to the need for more adequate protection of life and limb in the workshops and factories and on the railroads of the State.

Sanitary conditions have also received his attention and in his reports he has frequently called attention to the pressing need for more suitable facilities in the way of water closets and urinals in Iowa factories; the need for better heating and ventilation of industrial establishments; the necessity for better facilities for escape in case of fire; the urgent need of legislation providing for elevator guards, and guards for emery wheels and grindstones; the countersinking of set screws and the boxing of drive belts and gearing; adequate boiler and factory inspection necessary to secure the enforcement of legislation already on the statute books; and more effective legislation for the protection of railway employees.<sup>54</sup> The cardinal feature of the work of the legislative committee of the Iowa State Federation of Labor has been to urge similar legislation and we might infer that organized labor had been helpful in calling the attention of the State Labor Commissioner to the need of better sanitary and protective legislation, since he says that complaints have come to the office seeking to have these matters remedied.<sup>55</sup>

The first legislative enactments along protective lines recorded in the proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor are found in the report of organizer W. E. O'Blenness. In 1894 he mentions the "two-weeks pay law, introduced by Representative Moore, of Wayne County, which provides for the payment of wages of coal miners employed in the state of Iowa in lawful

money of the United States and affords protection to said workmen in the management and control of their own earnings."<sup>288</sup>

Another law reported by Mr. O'Blenness as passed was "the law to give graders a lien on the property graded for the amount of work done."<sup>289</sup> These laws cannot be attributed in any large measure to the influence of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, because the Federation had at this time no funds with which to maintain a legislative lobby, but their enactment was welcomed as being favorable to organized labor.

(1) *Garnishment of Wages.*

Mr. O'Blenness includes with the laws stated above, "the law to prevent oppressive garnishment and the transfer of claims for the purpose of depriving debtors of their exemption rights."<sup>290</sup> Such a law was proposed to the legislature but was "indefinitely postponed."<sup>291</sup> At nearly every session of the legislature the legislative committee of the Iowa State Federation of Labor has either presented a favorable garnishment measure or has been occupied in attempting to defeat an unfavorable one. In 1904 it reports that it had to put up a hard fight against a garnishment of wages bill that had been fostered by the Retail Grocers' Association, and had been successful in defeating the measure. This bill first provided for the garnishment of twenty-five per cent of the wages of the heads of families, but was defeated, and a second bill introduced providing that all above \$40.00 should be subject to garnishment. This bill passed the House but was finally defeated in the Senate.<sup>292</sup>

In 1905 the president of the Federation reported to the convention that the executive committee had been fighting a system of illegal garnishment against working people, "usually those in the employ of railroads,"<sup>293</sup> and \$100.00 had been appropriated to carry on this fight, in which the committee had been in a measure successful. In the convention of 1907 the legislative committee again reported that, "Of the bills that we have had the greatest interest in killing, that old saw, the garnishment bill, is undoubtedly worthy of first mention."<sup>294</sup>

In 1909 the legislative committee reported that a garnishment of wages bill had come up again before the legislature, but had not been reported upon owing to the opposition of the committee.<sup>295</sup> In 1911 the executive committee of the Iowa State Federa-

tion of Labor reported a successful garnishment campaign made against a measure fostered by the Retail Grocers.<sup>304</sup> In 1913 the legislative committee reported that "the old saw—the garnishment bill—must be mentioned. At this session no one paid any particular attention to it, and it died without a ripple."<sup>305</sup> It is probable that the garnishment matter will come up again in some form or other but this constant struggle illustrates the persistency of the State Federation of Labor in its attempt to protect the wages of the laboring man.

(2) *The Temple Amendment.*

At its convention in 1897 the Federation pledged its support to the Temple Amendment, which was intended to amend the law abrogating the fellow servant rule on railroads, by adding thereto the following: "Nor shall any contract of insurance, relief, benefit, or indemnity in case of injury or death, nor any other contract entered into prior to the injury, between the person so injured and such corporation, or any other person or association acting for such corporation, nor shall the acceptance of any insurance, relief, benefit or indemnity by the person injured after the injury, from such corporation, person or association, constitute any bar or defense to any cause of action brought under the provision of this section."<sup>306</sup> This amendment had been urged by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Locomotive Engineers, Railway Conductors and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, who were chiefly in the employ of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad which conducted a "voluntary Relief department" for its employees. The claim was made that employees of this railroad were forced to sign an agreement to pay a certain portion of their wages back to the company. The fund thus formed constituted an insurance or relief fund in case of accident.

The railroad employees claimed that the assessment was an enforced burden, that the benefits were not adequate, that in case of accident there were no recourse for damages no matter what the conditions, that the company usually paid just what it cared to in the way of benefits and was naturally careless concerning the safety of its employees. The matter was argued before the senate railway committee, evidence was produced by both sides, and finally the amendment



was lost.<sup>307</sup> It created a considerable amount of interest at the time, and the Iowa State Federation of Labor was not willing to give up the struggle as it pledged its support to the amendment in convention assembled several days after the motion had been defeated. The next year the political parties adopted the principles of the Temple Amendment in their platforms, and the next legislature amended the Code to conform to the principles which it involved. This amendment has since been held constitutional by both the Iowa and the United States Supreme Courts. It is of interest because it illustrates the attitude of organized labor toward what it considers as enforced assessments even if under the guise of insurance or of relief, and clearly shows the influence exerted by organized labor upon legislative matters within the State.

The enactment of the Temple Amendment was a notable victory for organized labor in Iowa, first because it brought the organizations of the railroad brotherhoods closer to the Iowa State Federation of Labor, and second, because railroad men all over the country were greatly benefited. It checked the further establishment of relief organizations by the railroad companies, and changed those relief organizations already in existence from compulsory to voluntary associations. Mr. Herman E. Wills, of Clinton, Iowa, was the leader for the labor interests in this struggle, and he became quite popular throughout the country among railroad workers because of his success.

(3) *Free Employment Bureau.*

The State Federation of Labor has persistently sought to have established a free employment bureau in connection with the office of Labor Commissioner. As early as 1904 the Federation presented a petition to the legislature, "asking the passage of the bill for an act to provide free public employment offices."<sup>308</sup> After repeatedly agitating the matter and seeking to attain the desired end by presenting the free employment propaganda in different guises, a law was finally passed in 1907 providing for the licensing of employment agencies by cities, their inspection and examination by the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the limiting of fees where no employment was secured.<sup>309</sup> The legislative committee of the State Federation of

Labor felt that if it could secure such a law it "would prove the necessity for a Public Bureau."<sup>70</sup>

The Commissioner of Labor Statistics was authorized in 1915 to establish The State Free Employment Bureau and to appoint a chief clerk to take charge at a salary of \$1200 a year. A list of applications of laborers for work and of employers for help is to be made up and sent to the auditors of counties and to the clerks of all cities of 500 or more inhabitants, not oftener than once a week, and not less frequently than once a month. These officials are to post the lists in "accessible, conspicuous and public" places.<sup>71</sup>

(4) *Increased Scope of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.*

The State Federation of Labor found that in many instances it could accomplish its ends through the office of the State Labor Commissioner, and began to seek legislation which would increase the powers and duties of that officer. These powers soon grew to include the enforcement of various protective and sanitary laws, and provided for inspection to discover if these laws were observed.

The legislative committee reported to the convention of 1900 that it had assisted in securing the presentation of bills which increased the power of the Bureau of Labor Statistics,<sup>72</sup> enabling it to compel the erection of fire escapes for three-story buildings,<sup>73</sup> to examine dangerous machinery,<sup>74</sup> to provide for the inspection of the sanitary conditions of factories and workshops, to make the furnishing of separate toilet facilities for the sexes compulsory,<sup>75</sup> and to require pipes and blowers for emery wheels.<sup>76</sup>

In 1904 the legislative committee reported that it had assisted in securing the passage of a bill giving to the State Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics greater power in the enforcement of the law providing for fire escapes.<sup>77</sup> It had also helped to secure an increased force for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, comprising one factory inspector and one clerk. Formerly the Commissioner and deputy had performed all of the work of the office, including clerical work, compilation of statistics, and factory inspection. The deputy commissioner's salary was increased from \$1000 to \$1200 per year.

The committee also reported that when the "bill providing for

the report of serious accidents to the Bureau of Labor Statistics,<sup>1898</sup> was presented, the railway corporations bestirred themselves, and began to work upon anti-union prejudice by circulating the report that this bill would require every farmer to report, "under penalty of a heavy fine, the most trivial accident, even to a boy falling from a horse, with this the child labor law was coupled and which was represented as preventing a farmer from sending his children to gather eggs."<sup>1898</sup> Needless to say, the accident bill was killed in the House.

In 1909 another factory inspector was added to the staff of the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics,<sup>1909</sup> and in 1913 the powers and duties of that office were enlarged by the enactment of a Labor Bureau Bill "which makes the right of entry on the part of factory inspectors definite and absolute, abolishes the old form of blank under which statistics were gathered, and gives to the commissioner the power to adopt blanks in conformity with the provisions of the law upon any desired investigation; adds to the present force a woman factory inspector, for the purpose of making extended investigation into the conditions of employment of women and children; enlarges the expense account of the bureau for traveling, hotel and incidental expenses from \$2,000 to \$4,000; makes the report of accidents compulsory, such reports to be made within forty-eight hours from the time of occurrence thereof."<sup>1913</sup>

(5). *Accident and Other Protection.*

Aside from such inspection and law enforcement as the State Federation has been able to bring about through the office of the State Commissioner of Labor, special enactments have been passed from time to time, seeking to protect persons from accident while at work, and to improve the sanitary conditions surrounding the worker.

In 1899 the convention adopted a resolution seeking to have the legislature amend the mining law so as to compel coal companies to use safety catches to prevent accidents from breaking of hoisting ropes, and to provide better escape and air shafts.<sup>1899</sup> At the eighth annual convention in 1900, the legislative committee reported back to the Federation that it had been successful in securing the enactment of bills requiring mine foremen, pit bosses, and hoisting engineers to hold certificates of competen-

cy."<sup>33</sup> An act to define the power of bringing action against any corporation maintaining a coal mine, requiring that suit must be brought where the work was done instead of at the company's office, was also passed."<sup>34</sup> Another act regulating the time coal operators could withhold the payment of wage earners was secured at the same session of the legislature."<sup>35</sup>

In addition to these achievements, two measures, which were thought to be particularly aimed at wage earners, had been defeated through the instrumentality of the legislative committee. One of these measures was the Eiker Bill, which provided that but eight dollars of the entire earnings of a whole family should be exempt from garnishment. This bill had been presented by the Retail Grocers' Association, but when it came up before the House, it received only five votes. The other measure provided that mortgages and written contracts should constitute a lien prior to labor in case of failure or assignment."<sup>36</sup> In 1906 the legislative committee reported that the following bills had been presented and defeated: A bill providing for a change in the common law rule of assumption of risk in employment; a bill providing for the employment of shot firers in mines by the operators; and a bill seeking to have street car vestibules closed. Some success had been attained, however, in the enactment of a law providing that in the assignment of wages, the signatures of both husband and wife were necessary to make the assignment legal."<sup>37</sup>

A part of the legislation reported as lost at the preceding session of the legislature was secured in 1907. A bill was passed providing for the enclosure of front vestibules of street cars, from November first to April first of each year."<sup>38</sup> Further legislation was secured limiting the quantity of powder that might be stored in coal mines at any one time."<sup>39</sup> A railroad bill was passed prohibiting companies from working men in train service more than sixteen consecutive hours out of twenty-four;"<sup>40</sup> and the height of wires crossing tracks was also regulated."<sup>41</sup>

A resolution was presented to the convention in 1908 recommending that the legislative committee be instructed to frame a bill for abolishing the side running board on all electric cars, and that they should be equipped with air brakes and double trucks."<sup>42</sup> The Federation further sought to have enacted an em-

ployer's liability law.<sup>100</sup> As a result of activity along these lines the legislative committee was able to report considerable progress to the convention the following year. Additional modification of the assumption of risk,<sup>101</sup> fellow-servant, and contributory negligence rules had been secured.<sup>102</sup> Laws had been enacted providing air brakes for single truck cars of certain length, uniformity of equipment and better safety devices for switch engines,<sup>103</sup> and the prohibition of the use of liquor on trains and street cars.<sup>104</sup>

The Iowa State Federation of Labor has been attempting for a number of years to secure legislation providing for a state boiler inspector. A less serious attempt has been made from time to time to secure legislation providing for building inspectors.<sup>105</sup> Neither of these measurers have yet been secured, although some progress has been made. The employer's liability and workman's compensation laws which the Federation has sought for so long, have finally been enacted and are now in force. In 1913 the legislative committee reported a successful attempt to secure legislation providing better fire escape facilities on buildings,<sup>106</sup> and better ventilation in mines.<sup>107</sup> Provisions for aisles in open summer cars, <sup>108</sup> and for air brakes on all street cars were reported lost.<sup>109</sup> At the same session of the legislature a bill providing for a minimum wage of seven and one half dollars per week, with a nine hour day for women workers was lost.<sup>110</sup>

#### (6) *Sanitary Legislation.*

Sanitary legislation, like almost every other form of legislation, especially in so far as it has been influenced by the Iowa State Federation of Labor, has been a matter of gradual development. In former years legislation of this sort usually consisted of independent legislative action; now, however, such laws are usually passed with a view to placing sanitary regulation under the control of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and upon this bureau devolves the duty of inspection and of prosecution in case of non-compliance with the law. In 1895, a gloomy year for organized labor because of the hard times, the convention adopted a resolution of ten sections, which sought to have the legislature pass a law regulating the sanitary conditions and plumbing in bake shops and in the manufacture of flour and meal, and providing for the enforcement of such legislation.<sup>111</sup> No results were obtained from this resolution, but it indicates

the spirit with which the members of the Federation were meeting adversity.

The State Federation of Labor has been prominent in the fight waged against the white plague. The president of the Federation reported to the convention in 1906 that the fight for legislation relative to this matter had been fairly successful, and in the same year the legislature appropriated \$50,000.00 to build a sanitarium—the conduct and supervision of which was to be vested in the State Board of Control.<sup>408</sup> The president further stated the following year that he had continued his policy of co-operation with the associations of the State in working for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis, and the construction of a sanitarium for white plague sufferers; and asked for a small donation from the Federation to help the State Association for The Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis to pay its debts.<sup>409</sup>

The Federation has repeatedly urged a barbers' examination bill, bills to provide for adequate plumbing inspection, better sanitary regulations governing the installation of plumbing, a bill for the removal of old wall paper and the placing of walls in a sanitary condition before repapering, a regulation of the number of water closets to conform to the number of employees, a provision for wash rooms for employees in certain occupations, and for better sanitation of city streets. Sanitary legislation is of interest to the general public as well as to organized labor, and although these provisions have not been secured in their entirety, it is probably only a matter of time until such will be the case.

The influence of the State Federation of Labor on protective and sanitary legislation is considerable. It is probably more vitally concerned in this kind of legislation than in any other. Indeed it may be said that practically all of the legislation in which organized labor is concerned may be classified under the head of protective and sanitary. The State Federation of Labor has spent a great deal of time and money in the interest of such legislation, and in general it has been fairly successful in its efforts.

2. *Influence upon the office of Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.* The influence of the Iowa State Federation of Labor has also been extended to the office of the Bureau of

Labor Statistics. Of the State Commissioners of Labor, two have been presidents of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. Mr. W. E. O'Blenness, who served as president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor from 1900 to 1901, was commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics from 1894 to 1900.

Mr. A. E. Holder, an active, enthusiastic, and energetic organizer of labor, and president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor from 1901 to 1903, was deputy labor commissioner from 1900 to 1904.

When Mr. Urick formally resigned his position as president of the Iowa State Federation of Labor at the 1913 convention, he set forth in an address before the Federation his conception of what should be done by the labor commissioner of Iowa. He proposed to secure the strengthening of the Employer's Liability and Workman's Compensation measures, by the reorganization of the Bureau of Labor. Formerly he had expected to secure these changes by influencing legislation as chairman of the legislative committee of the Iowa State Federation of Labor and as its president. He now saw the opportunity for reorganization of the bureau more directly as its head. He states that "the blank under which statistics are gathered, was an old blank," and "had outlived its usefulness." So far as the Iowa labor statistics were concerned, he considered them "practically valueless." They "dealt in averages, which are not demonstrative of any practical condition of any number of wage earners in Iowa."<sup>107</sup>

The labor commissioner had been given the privilege of adopting a new blank to suit more modern needs, and he proposed to get better statistics based upon the plan followed by Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Kansas, in which the "exact number of people, that are working under an exact wage," could be determined, and the exact wages secured rather than averaged.<sup>108</sup>

A law had been passed "making it compulsory upon employers to report accidents within forty-eight hours from the time of the happening of the accident." And he expected to enforce rigidly this law. He sought the co-operation of organized labor in securing information regarding "bad conditions anywhere in the state of Iowa in the factories and work shops."<sup>109</sup>

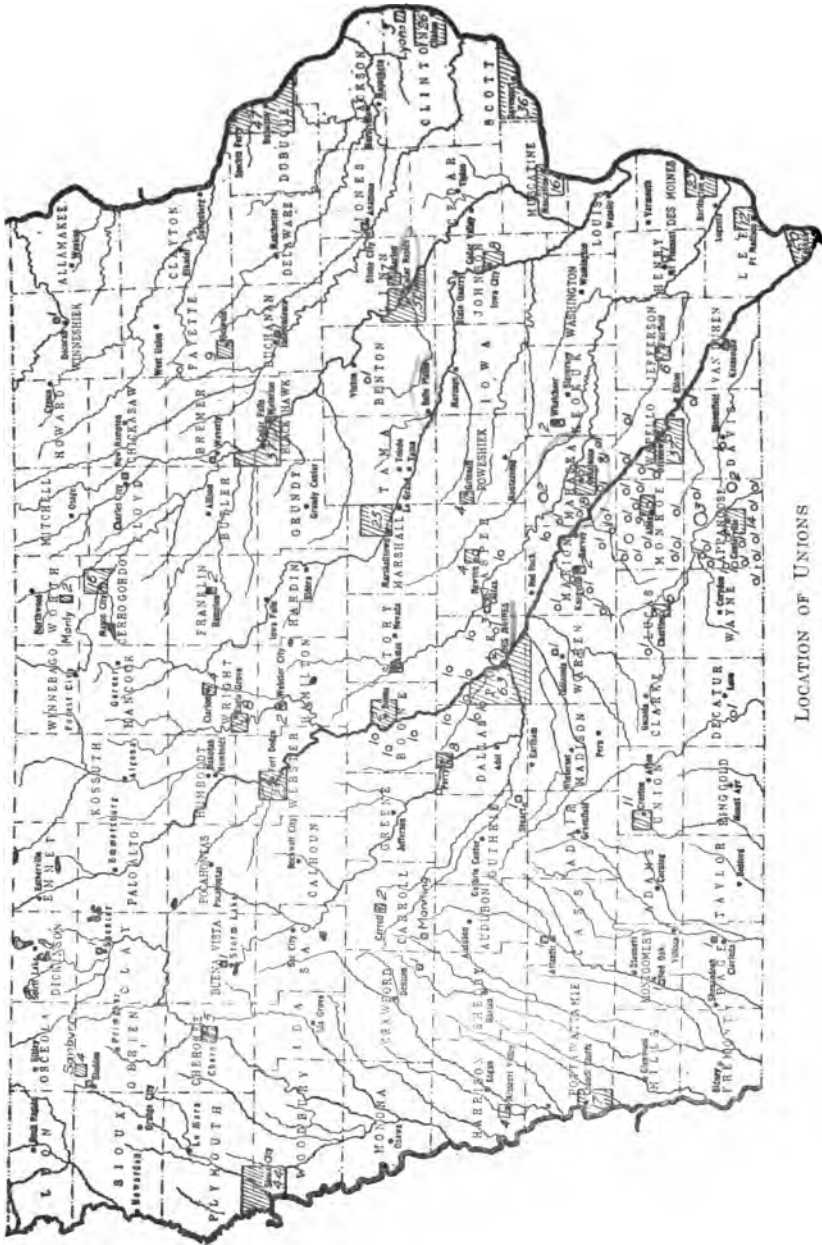
Mr. Urick proposed to follow four plans in securing the cor-

rect age of children employed in factories. First, to attempt to "get the birth record of the child;" second, "if the birth certificate can not be secured, the employers may secure a certificate of baptism;" third, where this is impossible, the school record was to be investigated; fourth, failing these the "affidavit of two persons not interested in the child, or in the employment in which the child is entered" may be procured."

He expected to make a compilation of all of the wage contracts in the State of Iowa during the fall of the year, and urged the men in organized labor to answer his inquiries, and fill out the blanks sent them more promptly, because if his reports were to be of value they must be accurate, complete, and promptly done. He hoped to get out his reports more regularly and more frequently than had been done heretofore. This summary of the policies of Mr. Urick as Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, will serve to indicate the very close connection that may be expected to exist between the Iowa State Federation of Labor and the Bureau of Labor Statistics under his regime, and it is safe to assume that the other men above mentioned were certainly not without considerable interest in organized labor from the standpoint of the rank and file.

Other men who have been associated with organized labor and the Bureau of Labor Statistics might be mentioned, but these instances are sufficient to show that both consciously and unconsciously, organized labor has exerted a considerable influence upon the history of Iowa in recent years, because of the fact that its leaders have been prominent in the formation and execution of the modern humanitarian and industrial policies of the State.





LOCATION OF UNIONS

NOTE—Circles indicate miners' unions. Shaded areas indicate other unions. Figures indicate number of unions.

# APPENDIX

## PREAMBLE

Recognizing the fact that the very instinct of self preservation demands the closer unionism of all Trades and Labor organizations in order that the equality of right and privilege may be obtained for wage workers, we, the representatives of the TRADES AND LABOR UNIONS OF IOWA, in convention assembled, do hereby unite our forces in this convention in the cause of Labor Emancipation, and call upon wage workers throughout the State to join with us in obtaining needed industrial and social reforms.

We affirm the natural and legal right of all wage workers to organize themselves peaceably together, and condemn as autocratic and un-American that spirit which inspires to lockouts and black lists.

We regard the exaction of an agreement by an employer from his employees that they shall not belong to a labor organization as an infringement on the natural rights of a citizen, and as a species of intimidation that should be punished by law.

We believe in autonomy of trade interests, and the closest possible unity in matters of general concern.

We regard it as the duty of every true citizen to assist in bringing about that state of civilization wherein industrial and moral worth, not wealth, shall be the true standard of individual and national greatness.

## CONSTITUTION

### Article I—Name

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Iowa State Federation of Labor.

### Article II—Objects.

§Section 1. The objects of the Federation are the encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor organizations, and to secure legislation or other favorable action to the interests of the laboring classes. §

### Article III—Membership and Representation.

Section 1. \*This Federation shall be composed of representatives from state organizations, city central bodies, local trade councils and local unions that agree to abide by the provisions of this constitution and are organized under the trade union system. §

Section 2. Where central bodies are composed of unions from two or more states, such central bodies may affiliate with the Iowa State Federation of Labor upon the payment of \$10.00 per year; providing, per capita tax on the Iowa membership of said unions be paid direct. And any delegate to this federation elected from any organization must be a per capita tax paying member to this Federation and must be a member of a bona fide Labor organization.

Section 3. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From state organizations, three delegates-at-large; from city central bodies, three

delegates; from local trades councils, two delegates; from local unions of 100 members or less, one delegate, and one additional delegate for each additional 100 members or majority fraction thereof; provided, that all local unions must affiliate with the city central body where such exists. All members of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics shall be honorary members of all conventions, provided they are members in good standing of bona fide labor organizations.

Section 4. Questions shall be decided by aye or nay vote and by division, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for the union he or she represents, except as hereinafter provided for in Section 5.

Section 5. Local unions affiliated with the Iowa State Federation having 50 members or less that are located in isolated districts, or those unions whose finances will not permit of being represented directly with a delegate may transfer the vote of their union to one of the delegates-at-large from a state organization, provided that no delegate-at-large from a state organization shall be allowed more than ten votes.

Section 6. No delegate-at-large from a state organization can cast any votes other than the one he or she is regularly entitled to, without sealed credentials signed by the President and Secretary of the local union authorizing it.

Section 7. All unions affiliated with this Federation must be affiliated with the local central body and their respective trades councils, where such exists, provided that this rule shall not apply to unions which are adjacent to municipalities but outside the city limits.

Section 8. Where a central organization is affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor all local unions connected with said central organization as hereinbefore provided in Sections 3 and 7 are thereby also affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor and entitled to delegates in the convention. Each central body and local union affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor shall, immediately after each election, forward the names and addresses of its President and Secretary to the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation and to the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Section 9. All city central bodies affiliated shall report to the Secretary of this Federation two weeks previous to convention, all local unions in good standing.

#### Article IV—Officers.

Section 1. The officers of this Federation shall consist of a President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, who, with four elective members, shall constitute the Executive Board; a Legislative Committee, consisting of the President and two elective members; a delegate and alternate to the A. F. of L.; an Auditing Committee, to consist of two members from different unions, where possible residents in the same city with the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. All nominations for officers of the Federation, and the location of the next convention city of this Federation shall be made a special order of business at 10 o'clock a. m. of the second day of the convention. The names of the persons nominated, and the name and location of their unions, and the cities desiring the next convention, shall be given, but no nomination speeches shall be allowed.

Section 3. The secretary-treasurer shall have printed a ballot containing the names of all persons nominated for the several offices, and the cities desiring the next convention.

Section 4. Immediately after the calling of the roll of officers and delegates on the morning of the third day of the convention, the election of officers as herein provided shall take place.

Section 5. On the afternoon of the second day of the session the president shall appoint six delegates, who shall act as supervisors of election, none of

whom shall be candidates for office. Immediately after the close of the voting the supervisors shall retire and count the ballots. At the conclusion of the canvass the chairman of the supervisors shall report the result of the election to the convention in writing, and shall return the ballots, together with the tally sheets, to the secretary-treasurer.

Section 6. In case the result of the vote shall fail to show a majority for any of the offices, a new ballot shall be taken, but such ballot shall be limited to the office wherein there was no choice, and the procedure shall be the same as in the original instance.

Section 7. When the hour for the election of officers has arrived, the secretary-treasurer shall call the roll of officers and delegates, and as their names are called they shall come forward and deposit their ballots in a receptacle provided for that purpose by the supervisors of election.

Section 8. Appointive committees.

1. Committee on Credentials.
2. Committee on Laws and Constitution.
3. Committee on Resolutions.
4. Grievance Committee.
5. Committee on Rules.
6. Committee on Labels.
7. Committee on Proposed Legislation.
8. Committee on Distribution of Officers' Reports.
9. Committee on Building Trades.

#### Article V—Duties of Officers.

Section 1. The president shall preside at all meetings, preserve order and appoint all committees, unless otherwise ordered by the Federation. He shall issue the call for the annual convention at least sixty days prior to the convention. He shall be the chairman of the legislative committee, lecturer and general organizer. He shall arrange for the organization of unions and label leagues wherever possible, and where partially successful shall report the progress made to the various national and international unions or their organizers. He shall recommend to the President of the American Federation of Labor the appointment of such organizers as he deems best, who shall act under his supervision. The president's compensation shall be \$150.00 per month, with necessary expenses, of which he shall keep an itemized account, and he shall devote his entire time to the duties of the office.

Section 2. The vice-president shall preside in the absence of the president, and in case of death or removal of the president, shall succeed him and receive the same salary.

Section 3. The secretary-treasurer shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Federation, and after having been approved by the executive board shall cause same to be printed and distributed. He shall, not later than the tenth day of March, June, September and December, forward to the executive board a statement of the receipts and expenditures for the preceding quarter, together with the number of unions admitted, withdrawn or suspended. He shall forward to the secretary of each central organization affiliated, suitable blanks for the purpose of ascertaining the names of unions affiliated, the number of persons paying per capita tax to the central body and the secretary's name and address of each organization, and all business, excepting the collection of per capita tax where central bodies exist, shall be forwarded to the local unions direct, as well as to the central body. All resolutions should be forwarded to him by local unions and central bodies at least two weeks before the time for holding the annual conventions, and he shall have them printed and ready for distribution on the first day of the convention. All resolutions shall be presented in duplicate form. He shall pay out no money except on an order signed by the president and secretary, and he shall be required to show a proper voucher for every item of ex-

penditure. He shall be bonded by a reliable surety company in the sum of \$2,000, the fee for such bond to be paid by the Federation, said bond to be placed in the care of the chairman of the executive board. At the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver to his successor all property belonging to this Federation. His compensation shall be \$350.00 per year. The secretary-treasurer shall have printed in suitable form, and mail to each delegate-elect to the convention of the Federation, at least ten days prior to the same, the annual reports that are required from the officers.

Section 4. The Executive Board shall have the power to transact such business as may require immediate action and such other business as may be deemed necessary for the welfare of this organization. Five members of the Executive Board may call a special session of the Federation, and shall submit a report of their transactions to the following convention.

Section 5. The legislative committee shall familiarize themselves with all matters pertaining to labor legislation and shall, subject to the call of the executive board, be prepared to attend any legislative session and do such other work of interest to the labor movement as the executive board may from time to time direct. Their compensation shall be \$6.00 per day and railroad fare for actual time spent at any legislative session.

Section 6. The auditing committee shall examine the books, vouchers and accounts of the secretary-treasurer on the fifteenth day of February, May, August and November, and shall certify to the correctness of the quarterly report of the secretary-treasurer.

Section 7. The delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention shall attend the convention of that body and make a full report of the proceedings of the convention. He shall receive as compensation \$5.00 per diem, hotel expenses of \$2.00 per day and transportation by the most feasible route.

Section 8. The official term of president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, the executive board and the auditing committee shall begin July 1st and continue until their successor or successors are duly elected and qualified.

#### Article VI—Meetings.

Section 1. The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually on the second Tuesday in June, at 9 a. m., at such places as the Federation shall designate. The reception committee, or other properly authorized committee at the place selected for the convention shall endeavor to have Section 5008 of the Code of Iowa strictly enforced.

Section 2. Delegates to the convention should be elected not later than two weeks previous to the time set for the convention, and their names forwarded immediately to the Secretary-Treasurer, together with properly signed credentials bearing the seal of the different unions which they represent, a duplicate of which shall be placed in the hands of the delegates for presentation at the convention.

Section 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish the following blank form of credentials to all organization entitled to representation.

#### Form of Credentials.

Iowa State Federation of Labor:

We hereby certify that Mr. .... was duly elected a delegate, and Mr. .... alternate to represent ..... in the ..... annual convention of your honorable body, which convenes at ..... on Tuesday, June ..... at 9:00 a. m.

Local No. .... has a membership of .....  
Given under our hands and seal this .....  
day of .....  
..... President  
..... Secretary

(Seal)

Section 4. A committee of three shall be appointed by the president from among the delegates elected to represent their various organizations in the convention. Said committee, together with the secretary-treasurer, shall meet on the day previous to the convention date, in the same city, and shall examine the credentials and submit their report at the opening of the first session, and each of the three committeemen shall receive \$6.00 for such services.

#### Article VII—Taxes.

Section 1. All local organizations affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor shall pay a charter fee of \$1.00. State and City Central bodies shall pay \$5.00 as charter fee.

Section 2. The revenue of the Federation shall be divided as follows: From all local trades and federal labor unions a per capita tax of 2 1-2 cents per month on male members and 1 1-2 cents per month on female members, payable monthly, through city central bodies, where such exist, provided that but 1 cent a month per capita shall be collected from newsboys' unions.

Section 3. In cities where the central body is not affiliated with the Iowa State Federation of Labor, local unions may procure charters and pay the per capita tax as above directed to the secretary-treasurer.

Section 4. From building trades councils, metal trades councils, printing trades councils and state organizations an annual fee of \$15.00, payable quarterly.

Section 5. No organization affiliated with this State Federation shall be entitled to any financial benefits until it has been connected therewith for three months, and any organization in arrears for a period of three months shall be suspended until all arrears are paid. No organization, when suspended, shall be entitled to financial benefits until six months after reinstatement. All local unions, central bodies and state organizations shall have thirty days' notice before suspension can become effective.

Section 6. The funds derived from the sources provided for in this article shall go into one general fund.

#### Article VIII—Strikes.

Section 1. When any organization affiliated with this Federation shall become involved in a strike or lockout, the same having been approved by the national or international union to which such organization may be attached, and shall give proper notice of such strike or lockout to the president of this Federation, the president shall at once proceed to such place and make a careful investigation of the cause of the strike or lockout; also the financial condition of the union involved. He shall at once submit his report to the executive board, who shall within ten days submit the findings to the membership at large.

Section 2. In cases where affiliated local unions are on strike, locked out, or whose membership is thrown out of employment by the shutting down or closing of mines, etc., for a term of one month or more, said local unions shall be exempt from the payment of per capita tax to the Iowa State Federation of Labor during that period, upon approval of the executive board.

#### Article IX—Obligation of General Officers.

Section 1. I, (giving name) do solemnly pledge my word and honor, in the presence of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, that I will, to the best of my ability, perform the duties of the office to which I have been elected.

Section 2. The retiring president shall act as installing officer for future conventions.

**Article X.**

Section 1. All labor papers published in Iowa that are owned and controlled by city central bodies and local unions shall be the official organs of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. Said publications shall be under the control of the executive board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in all matters pertaining to the welfare of this Federation.

**Article XI.**

Section 1. Consecration and reverence for the memory of our deceased members leads us to designate the Sunday preceding May 30 for the observance of Labor Memorial Day.

**Article XII—Alterations and Amendments.**

Section 1. This constitution shall only be altered or amended at a regular session of this Federation and only upon a majority vote of all delegates present.

**Rules.**

1. Visitors may be excluded from the hall by a majority vote of the delegates present.
2. The hours of meetings shall be from 9 a. m. to 12 m., and from 2 p. m. to 5 p. m.
3. All resolutions must be presented in duplicate and signed by the mover thereof, and referred to the proper committee before 12 m. of the third day of the convention.
4. No motion for the previous question shall be entertained so long as any delegate who has not spoken on the question being discussed desires to be heard.
5. Delegates shall not speak more than twice on any one subject, nor more than five minutes at any one time without the consent of the majority of the delegates present.
6. The officers shall be elected and the city in which the next convention is to be held chosen on the third day of the convention.
7. Roberts' rules of order shall be considered as authority on all questions of order not covered by these rules.

**Order of Business.**

1. Call to order by the president.
2. Appointment of sergeant-at-arms.
3. Report of committee on credentials.
4. Label order of business. (Note below).
5. Roll call of officers and delegates.
6. Reading of minutes.
7. Appointment of standing committees.
8. Reports of officers.
9. Reports of committees.
10. Receiving of communications and bills.
11. Unfinished business.
12. New business.
13. Election of officers.
14. Installation of officers.
15. Good and welfare of the state federation, assemblies and local unions.
16. Adjournment.

**LABEL ORDER OF BUSINESS.**

All members whose clothing bear the union label will please rise.

All members who insist that union clerks wait on them will please rise.

All members who purchase only union made cigars and tobacco will please rise.

All members who patronize only union restaurants, union barber shops, union saloons and union markets will please rise.

All members whose hats bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose shoes bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose shirts and collars bear the union label will please rise.

All members whose working clothes and overalls bear the union label will please rise.

All members who employ union plumbers, carpenters, painters, sheet metal workers, leather workers, etc., will please rise.

All members who use only union made brooms in your homes will please rise.

All members who burn union mined coal will please rise.

All members who agree to insist on purchasing goods bearing labels of other organizations and not here mentioned will please rise.





## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Hollander and Barnett, *Studies in American Trade Unionism*, p. 359.
2. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885, pp. 55-57.
3. Proceedings of District Knights of Labor Conference at Belle Plaine, Sept. 16, 1886. (Manuscript)
4. Proceedings of District Knights of Labor Conference at Belle Plaine, Sept. 16, 1886, p. 5. (Manuscript)
5. Proceedings of District Assembly No. 28, Knights of Labor, Oskaloosa, Iowa, January 10-11, 1883, p. 8.
6. Proceedings of District Assembly No. 28, Knights of Labor, Angus, Iowa, January 13, 14 and 15, 1886, p. 8.
7. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885, p. 55.
8. The Iowa State Register, Des Moines, Iowa, February 11, 1888.
9. The Iowa State Register, Des Moines, February 8, 1888.
10. The Weekly Times, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, July 22, 1886.
11. Mr. W. H. Winsor.
12. Proceedings of District Knights of Labor Conference at Belle Plaine, Sept. 16, 1886. (Manuscript)
13. Proceedings of Third Annual Session of the Iowa State Assembly Knights of Labor, Des Moines, Iowa, February 7-11, 1888, p. 28.
14. Constitution of the General Assembly, District Assemblies and Local Assemblies of the Order of the Knights of Labor of America, pp. 2-4.
15. Mr. W. H. Winsor has furnished most of the material for the discussion of the Knights of Labor in Iowa. He has very kindly placed in the library of the State Historical Society of Iowa, at Iowa City, the following documents:  
Constitution of the General Assembly, District Assemblies and Local Assemblies of the Order of the Knights of Labor of America.  
Proceedings of District Assembly, No. 28, Knights of Labor, Oskaloosa, Iowa, January 10-11, 1883; Des Moines, Iowa, January 16-17, 1884; Angus, Iowa, January 13, 14 and 15, 1886.  
Proceedings of District Knights of Labor Conference at Belle Plaine, September 16, 1886.  
Proceedings of Third Annual Session of the Iowa State Assembly of Knights of Labor, Des Moines, Iowa, February 7-11, 1888.
16. The Iowa State Register, Des Moines, Iowa, Friday August 3, 1877.
17. The Iowa State Register, Des Moines, Iowa, Friday August 3, 1877.
18. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885, pp. 55-57.
19. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1885, pp. 56-57.
20. Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Vol. XX., Report on Strikes and Lockouts, p. 5.
21. Twenty-first Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1906, Strikes and Lockouts, pp. 18-19, 23.
22. Sixteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1901, Strikes and Lockouts, p. 64.

23. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, p. 159.
24. This data is compiled from the Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1886, pp. 55-57. This Report gives a splendid resume of matters of interest concerning the labor situation in Iowa. The Knights of Labor, co-operative societies, strikes and arbitrations, convict labor, industrial education, immigration, and other topics of interest, are well treated, all with a direct bearing on the State of Iowa.
25. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1899-1900, pp. 180-197.
26. The data for 1914 has been secured by counting the unions listed in the official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor for 1914. These figures are slightly in excess of those given by the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1914.
27. See map of unions in Iowa, p. 116.
28. Hollander and Barnett, *Studies in American Trade Unionism*, p. 371.
29. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, p. 71.
30. Hollander and Barnett, *Studies in American Trade Unionism*, p. 371.
31. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 127.
32. Article by J. J. Jacobsen, in *Iowa Unionist*, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV, No. 15, pp. 2, 3, and 6.
33. Oral statement by Mr. A. L. Urlick.
34. Article by J. J. Jacobsen, in *Iowa Unionist*, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV, No. 15, pp. 2, 3 and 6.
35. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 143.
36. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, p. 79.
37. Oral statement by Mr. A. L. Urlick.
38. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 48.
39. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914. Preamble to the Constitution, p. 55.
40. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 18.
41. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 55.
42. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 54.
43. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 29.
44. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation, 1913, p. 99.
45. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 24.
46. Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 14.
47. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 17.
48. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 16.
49. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 22.
50. Proceedings of Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 18.
51. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 36.
52. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 5. Constitution, Article V, Section 1.
53. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 2. Constitution, Article V, Section 1.
54. The Des Moines Weekly Leader, Thursday, May, 18, 1893, p. 5.

55. Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 11.
56. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 129.
57. Oral statement by Mr. A. L. Urick.
58. Iowa Official Register, 1911-1912, p. 128.
59. Union Advocate, Sioux City, Iowa, Jan. 22, 1914.
60. Letter from Mr. A. L. Urick, Dec. 7, 1914. See also Table p. 23.
61. Editorial, Union Advocate, Sioux City, Iowa, June 11, 1914.
62. Official Labor Directory Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 51; letter from Mr. A. L. Urick, Dec. 7, 1914.
63. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1901, pp. 35-43.
64. Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 172.
65. Prior to this time no accurate data can be secured other than that to be found in Table 1, and in a few scattered sources which do not afford sufficient data to be of value.
66. Carlton, History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 78. The data concerning the number of Federal Labor Unions in Iowa from 1908 to 1914 is not published in the Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, but was secured from Secretary Frank Morrison, of the American Federation of Labor.
67. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1914, pp. 218-219. Mr. A. L. Urick states that there were probably forty or fifty charters issued to miner's organizations in the period from 1902 to 1914.
68. The total number of unions in the State has been determined by counting the unions listed in the Official Labor Directory for each year. The Directory for 1902 was the earliest the writer could secure, although the publication is known to have begun at an earlier date. President J. H. Strief writes that he thinks the earlier directories included only unions in the river towns.
69. Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 7.
70. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, p. 3.
71. Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1899-1900, p. 200.
72. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 19.
73. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1908, p. 10.
74. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 111. The Report of the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1914, p. 207, estimates that the membership of labor organizations exceeds 50,000.
75. In his annual report for 1909, President Urick gave the following suggestive summary of the development of the Federation: "Compare the period prior to our Convention of 1898 with the present and you will be impressed with the fact that less than two years ago, or speaking definitely, October, 1907, we had a financial collapse that for extent and magnitude paled the beginning of the financial collapse of 1893 into insignificance, and yet, strange as it may appear, the period of extreme suppression was of shorter duration; there was not the suffering on the part of our people incident to the 1893 panic; our organizations were not demoralized and disrupted as formerly, even though faced by mortal enemies unknown to the first period; wages were not reduced among the organized workers; hours of labor were not increased; nor were conditions and environments lowered. The reason for this favorable comparison can be attributed largely to the fact in the earlier period the seed of organization had been thoroughly imbedded in the minds of the wage workers, and with a revival of industry came a revival of organization

the most rapid and remarkable in the history of our movement. By 1907 nearly all of our unions had become sufficiently influential and powerful to resist lowering of wages and standards, the result being a retention of a high power of consumption of products by the workers, thus exercising a steadying influence upon manufacture and industry. In the Central West we have been exceptionally fortunate because of continued good crops in a predominant agricultural district, this coupled with the improved standards of living of our people incident to organization, and their purchasing power has carried the citizens of Iowa through the storm without hardly a ripple upon the surface. As an evidence of the resistive power and the great development of our movement, let the total number of delegates to this Convention be compared with the faithful twelve in attendance at the state convention held in this city eleven years ago." Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 17.

76. Des Moines Weekly Leader, Thursday, May 25, 1893, p. 2.

77. An article on "Iowa State Federation of Labor" by A. L. Urick and J. H. Strief, published in pamphlet form, Sioux City, Iowa, October, 1903.

78. Article by J. J. Jacobsen in the Iowa Unionist, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV, No. 15, pp. 2, 3, and 6.

79. Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 4.

80. Mr. O'Brienness is in error in including the garnishment measure in his report. See Journal of the House of Representatives, Iowa, 1894, p. 1049.

81. Journal of the House of Representatives, Iowa, 1894, p. 314.

82. The number of delegates does not always agree with that given in the article on "The Iowa State Federation of Labor," by A. L. Urick and J. H. Strief, Sioux City, Iowa, October, 1903, published in pamphlet form; nor does it always agree with the figures given in the article by J. J. Jacobsen in the Iowa Unionist, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV., No. 15, pp. 2, 3 and 6. The Proceedings of the conventions have been used as the basis for estimate in this manuscript, and it has been found that occasionally a delegate arriving late had not been counted by the writers above mentioned.

83. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, p. 3.

84. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, p. 10.

85. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, p. 10.

86. The Temple Amendment is further considered under "Protective Legislation," see p. 107.

87. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, pp. 10-16.

88. Mr. J. J. Jacobsen, in Iowa Unionist, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV., No. 15, gives 18.

89. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 8.

90. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 12.

91. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 12.

92. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 23.

93. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 9.

94. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 18.

95. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 13.

96. Article by J. J. Jacobsen in *Iowa Unionist*, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV, No. 15, pp. 2, 3, and 6.
97. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 18.
98. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 19.
99. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 22.
100. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 17.
101. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 30.
102. Article by J. J. Jacobsen in *Iowa Unionist*, Des Moines, Iowa, Saturday, April 12, 1902, Vol. IV, No. 15, pp. 2, 3, and 6. Article on "Iowa State Federation of Labor" by A. L. Urlick and J. H. Strief, Sioux City, Iowa, October, 1903, published in pamphlet form.
103. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1901, pp. 35-43. The complaint of the miners that they were not represented on the legislative committee, is not well founded, since the financial statement of the legislative committee for the year 1900 to the Federation shows that Mr. L. P. Joyce, first president of District No. 13, of the United Mine Workers, served on the legislative committee, under pay of the State Federation of Labor. See Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 6.
104. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1901, p. 9.
105. President's Report in *Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor*, 1902, pp. 168-172.
106. *Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor*, 1902, p. 182. The proceedings for 1900 state that 7000 miners were lost to the State Federation when the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 13, withdrew.
107. *Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor*, 1902, pp. 179-180.
108. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 23.
109. *Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor*, 1903, p. 271.
110. Code of Iowa, 1897, Section 5008.
111. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 41.
112. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 50.
113. *Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor*, 1903, p. 254.
114. *Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor*, 1903, p. 264.
115. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 19.
116. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 43.
117. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, pp. 44-46.
118. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 19.
119. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 18.

120. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, pp. 52-55.
121. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 55.
122. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 65.
123. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 33.
124. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 33. See also Supplement to the Code of Iowa, 1907, Sections 2477-a, b, c, d, e, f.
125. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 48.
126. Carlton, History and Problems of Organized Labor, pp. 46-47.
127. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 17.
128. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 30.
129. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 38.
130. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 28.
131. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, pp. 28-29.
132. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 48.
133. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1908, p. 10.
134. "The Iowa State Federation of Labor" by A. L. Urick and J. H. Strief.
135. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1908, p. 22.
136. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, pp. 11-14.
137. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, pp. 16-21.
138. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, pp. 21-24.
139. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 26.
140. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 27.
141. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 27.
142. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 31.
143. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 33.
144. This dispute is further discussed under the head of structure and government.
145. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 32.
146. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, p. 10.
147. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, p. 10.
148. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, pp. 14-15.

149. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, p. 28.
150. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, pp. 52-53.
151. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, pp. 13-14.
152. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 29.
153. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 26.
154. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 55.
155. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 48.
156. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 50.
157. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 53.
158. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 40.
159. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 42.
160. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 125.
161. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 175.
162. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 202.
163. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 195.
164. It might appear from the report of the Executive Board that it intiated the issuing of this injunction, but such was not the case. Mr. A. L. Urlick, a member of the Board, expressly states that it is not the policy of the Federation to attempt to exert any such influence. This step was taken by those locally interested. For discussion of the attitude of the Iowa State Federation of Labor in such cases, see paragraph on Strikes and Lockouts.
165. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 131-133.
166. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 143.
167. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 73.
168. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 71.
169. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, pp. 73-75.
170. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 77.
171. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, pp. 93, 95, and 97.
172. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 111.
173. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, 111-115.
174. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 211.
175. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 237.



176. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 237.
177. The Des Moines Weekly Leader, Thursday, May 18, 1893.
178. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897. This is the first constitution available.
179. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 24.
180. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 44.
181. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 44.
182. See p. 25.
183. Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 163, Art. III, Section 2.
184. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 3, Article III, Section 2.
185. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 51.
186. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 85-89.
187. The Des Moines Weekly Leader, Thursday, May 18, 1893, p. 5.
188. Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 10.
189. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, p. 4.
190. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 21.
191. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 47.
192. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, pp. 49-54.
193. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 61.
194. Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 165, Article VII, Section 2.
195. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 47.
196. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 7.
197. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, Article VII, Section 2, p. 5.
198. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 14.
199. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, Constitution, Article VII, Section 2, Taxes.
200. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 21.
201. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1908, p. 8.
202. Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 165.
203. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 7.
204. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1901, p. 69, Article VII, Section 4.
205. Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 165, Article VII, Section 4.
206. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 59, Article VII, Section 5.
207. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 65.

208. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 187.
209. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 53, Article IV, Section 1.
210. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V, Section 1.
211. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 19, Article V, Section 1.
212. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 25.
213. Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 59.
214. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 5.
215. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1908, p. 2.
216. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 3.
217. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 2.
218. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V, Section 2.
219. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 18.
220. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 44.
221. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V, Section 3.
222. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 19.
223. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1901, p. 44.
224. Letter from J. H. Strief, Des Moines, Iowa, April 15, 1914.
225. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V, Section 4.
226. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 3.
227. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1908, p. 2, Article IV, Section 3.
228. Convention and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 2, Article IV, Section 1.
229. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 3, Article V, Section 4.
230. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V, Section 4.
231. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55.
232. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 53, Article IV, Section 2.
233. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 195.
234. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 195.
235. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 29.
236. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 25.
237. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 191-195.

238. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V, Sections 5 and 6.
239. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1901, pp. 53-62.
240. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 59.
241. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 33. Also Constitution and Proceedings, Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 49.
242. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, pp. 12-13.
243. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 33.
244. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, pp. 45, 46, and 47.
245. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 2.
246. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, p. 24.
247. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 64.
248. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 64.
249. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, p. 31.
250. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 191, 194, 195.
251. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 51, Article III, Section 1.
252. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article III, Section 7.
253. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 115.
254. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, p. 10.
255. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 175.
256. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 21.
257. Samuel Gompers in the American Federationist, Vol. XXI, July, 1914, p. 541.
258. Constitution of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1897, p. 18.
259. Official Labor Gazette and Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 163, Article III, Section 2.
260. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, p. 2.
261. Samuel Gompers in the American Federationist, Vol. XXI, July, 1914, p. 543.
262. Commons, Trade Unionism and Labor Problems, p. 381.
263. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 61-63.
264. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 17.
265. At the 1908 convention a resolution proposing the following change in the constitution was lost: "All delegates shall be required to show at least three union labels upon their wearing apparel to be eligible to seats in the convention." Proceedings, 1908, p. 22.

266. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 109.
267. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 121-125.
- 268.—Letter from Mr. W. H. Clifford, General Secretary-Treasurer and Organizer, Brotherhood of Painters, Paper Hangers and Decorators, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
269. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1914, p. 53.
270. Letter from Mr. W. H. Clifford.
271. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 55, Article V., Section 1.
272. Oral statement by Mr. A. L. Urlick.
273. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1910, p. 12.
274. The Des Moines Weekly Leader, Thursday, May 25, 1893.
275. Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1895, p. 7.
276. Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1899, p. 34.
277. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 51.
278. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 59, Article X, Section 1.
279. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, pp. 21-23.
280. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, pp. 37-38.
281. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 5, Article V, Section 1.
282. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 25.
283. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 32.
284. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1906, p. 24.
285. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1907, p. 16.
286. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 25.
287. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1905, p. 31.
288. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 59, Article VIII, Sections 1 and 2.
289. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1911, pp. 49-50.
290. Studies in American Trade Unionism, Hollander and Barnett, p. 371.
291. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1912, pp. 23-24.
292. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 191.
293. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, pp. 203-205. See also Laws of Iowa, 1913, ch. 292.
294. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 25.
295. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 27.
296. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 19.

297. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, pp. 424-428.
298. Constitution and Proceedings of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1909, p. 18.
299. Official Labor Directory of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, 1913, p. 161.
300. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, p. 46.
301. Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, p. 454.
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324. Official Labor Gazette and Directory, 1902, p. 185. This quotation is copied exactly, but it should be noted that the years are from seven to fourteen, and not from seven to sixteen as in the quotation. The extension of time did not occur until 1913.

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